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WHAT IS DEMOCRACY?

L. H. BAILEY

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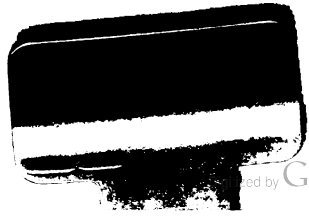

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THE BACKGROUND BOOKS

The Philosophy of the Holy Earth

THE HOLY EARTH

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UNIVERSAL SERVICE

WHAT IS DEMOCRACY?

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WHAT IS DEMOCRACY?

BY

L. H. BAILEY

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WHAT IS DEMOCRACY?

Last year the public read in a press despatch that Germany had now become a democracy, within the space of five days. I wondered whether the German people were aware of it.

In the Far East I asked a German of the office-holding class how the War would end. He replied that it would end by governmental changes and revolutions in the different countries. I asked what would be the nature of the change in Germany, to which he replied that there would be no change in his country for the reason it is so democratic that no change is needed.

We read that Great Britain, France, Belgium, Italy and the others are fighting for democracy, as if hoping to attain to it. The United States is fighting to make the world safe for democracy, looking to the future.

What, then, is democracy?

In all the world the foremost word is now Democracy. Everyone uses it or thinks in its terms. Yet it would be difficult to find a clear meaning for it in all these minds. Very likely it is the more power-

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ful and useful because it is mostly undefined and is therefore held to express a personal conviction.

The assemblage of ideas, however, must finally find concrete expression. The time will come when every person of mature years must ask himself what he means by democracy.

I do not engage to answer my question. Perhaps it is unanswerable in the present stage of human experience. Certainly it cannot be answered by appeal to history. Nor would I challenge the curiosity of my reader by suggesting the etymology of the word, lying in the Greek idea of "the rule by the people"; yet the fundamental consideration is the Demos,—the commonwealth, the people acting collectively and of their own will. It cannot profit us to pause with the intellectualistic or the romantic or the theoretic conceptions of democracy, nor to discuss an ideal state in a simple or a primitive society. If we are interested in the question at all, it must be in the practical attainment in the surging complexities of today and tomorrow. What may we reasonably hope to attain?

If the reader asks by what authority I write, I must confess that it is only as a single and unattached citizen, looking on. If it be said that I am not known as a student of the literature, then I must say that this is a reason why I may write; and I

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shall be obliged to assume responsibility for the opinions. Yet this is not a detached book. Out of an experience not inconsiderable grew the desire to attempt certain Background Books. The first of these was "The Holy Earth." Out of that effort grew "Universal Service." I mistrust there are other imperfect fruits still to garner. Democracy, when detached from precedent, is of the backgrounds. There is one philosophy in these writings; it finds its quintessence in Wind and Weather, albeit apparently no one discovers the fact. This much by way of preface I feel impelled to say, that the person who may have chanced to read one of the other books may understand that here is not a repetition of statements but a progression of ideas. The principles are applied to other sets of problems.

From these remarks the reader will understand at once that the present writing is not a contribution to the theory of social organization or to discussion of government. Intentionally it approaches the subject in a wholly different phrase and with a different mental posture. Most of it has grown out of a sustained effort to challenge, on the public platform and elsewhere, some of the tenacious misconceptions of the field and purpose of democracy in a time when all notions are open to overthrow.

The book has been written in the stress and fury of war, yet the statements should be equally significant

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when the dreadful conflict is ended; the war references are only by way of point and illustration. It is not a war book.

Nor am I concerned lest the reader may think my statements irrelevant to present conditions: I am trying to detect the undemocracy in present conditions.

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1. What It Is Not

So much scaffolding has built itself about the Demos that we must tear it down before we can see the structure itself; therefore shall I first engage my reader's attention by saying what democracy is not. For the moment we may forget the definitions. And it is needless to say that I speak not of democracy or of the democrat in the sense of a political-party issue in North America or elsewhere.

Anti-monarchy is not democracy. When a monarch is overthrown, we hail the revolution as an instance of democracy; yet the people may be as far from democracy as nadir is from zenith. Contrariwise, when a king is set up we deplore the defeat of democracy; yet democracy might be only stabilized thereby.

Freedom is not democracy: it is only release from restraint. No people needs discipline and restraint so much as a democratic people, but it should be self-discipline. Freedom is only a condition antecedent to democracy. Of all forms of society, democracy is

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farthest removed from anarchy. (War is organized anarchy.)

Liberty is not democracy: it is only the political concept of freedom and unrestraint. Democratic peoples are always liberated peoples, yet liberated peoples may not be democratic. A people may be ever so free politically and yet not constitute a democracy.

Therefore, independence is not democracy. It is only a stage in separation, whereby political allegiance is severed.

Revolt from tyranny is not democracy. This is the throwing-off of intolerable burdens that prevent democracy; and as democracy has been prevented, so is there no preparation for it and anarchy results. The tyrannized people go to excess, knowing not the civic restraint of self-discipline. Excess is the opposite of democracy. The red revolutions of past and present are the negation of democracy, although the released people may eventually become democratic. Democracy is more stable than despotism.

Racial independence and separateness is a doubtful apprenticeship to democracy. It tends to solidify the racial clan, making it a class enterprise in the world. Racial jealousies and hatreds have always

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stood in the way of democracy, and the modern process has been to break down these barriers. There is a race instinct and culture that should be preserved, but whether political racial independence is the best means in the interest of humanity as a whole is yet in doubt. The method of political suppression of races has failed, but its opposite may not succeed. No longer are race lines circumscribed in territory. It looks as if the War is to leave us a legacy of racialism. How to preserve the race cult and at the same time to develop world democracy is henceforth our problem. One reason why democracy has thriven in North America is because the population is not a race but a brotherhood

What is familiarly called personal liberty, by platformers and editors, is not democracy. It is more likely to be license to do as one will or to indulge in one's habit. It comes within the realm of conduct. Democracy is acting together rather than acting separately. Much of what we know as personal liberty is only personal selfishness.

So, also, laissez-faire is not democracy. No man liveth to himself alone, and no community of men can go as it choose; nor is free-will independent of its relations to endless social and civic situations.

The *r*brogation of the restraints of law, the giving

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over of public affairs to the clamor of the populace, is not democracy: it is mobocracy. A democratic society is peculiarly controlled by enacted law in distinction from the wishes and orders of a ruling caste. Yet even in democracies, laws may confer such general powers as to make the execution of them practically a process of legislation; in this case, the routine of offices, handed down from incumbent to incumbent, may suppress popular tendencies and build up a bureaucratic caste within the body of a democracy: this system tends to breed the unrest that finally wills to throw off all restraints.

It follows that lack of government is not democracy, not even at the millennium. We are told that the theoretically perfect state of mankind requires no government. This supposes that government is a body of restraints, correctives and punishments. If all men practised the Golden Rule, government might be unnecessary to regulate conduct; but there would still be needed a government of record and of action. The accounts of society must be kept. There must be government of ways and means, of work in common, of transportation, of communication, of the upkeep of the public enterprise. Inequalities must be adjusted. Catastrophe by sea and flood and the convulsions of nature must be met. The planet must be vastly changed to meet the requirements of man. The prevision of leaders must be actualized. We can-

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not understand society lacking outstanding personalities, with the following of them, and adoration. We conceive of heaven as a government of adoration. As men learn how to work together, the coordinated agencies of cooperation must be increasingly extended. Society will tend to operate as a whole, requiring more government: we hope, however, that government will change its character radically. I think that even theoretically all anarchy is undemocratic.

Simplicity or plainness of living is not democracy; it may not arise from the fellow feeling characteristic of democracy. It is likely to be only a personal taste, founded on good sense and a realization of the physical values. Some of the completest aristocrats I have known have been simple livers. Plain living should be the habit of any person, whether democrat or tory.

What is called a "free press" is not a gage of democracy. In some of its forms it may be a menace to democracy, controlling public policies, making public officers, trying criminals. The value of an open press as a means of information and even of education is apparent, yet the voice of the press may become a class interest as much as may the voice of capital or labor or agriculture. It may become so powerful that government caters to it; or a government may ride on it for its purpose. Undoubtedly

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forms of political and civic illness might arise from certain sections or influences of the free press, as from partisanship, superficial editorials, smart reporting, misleading display heads, favoritism and propaganda for interests and factions, forms of agitation, and over-influence of the advertizer. It is because of its great educational power that a run-loose press may subvert public opinion in the making and set dangerous policies afoot. Public opinion must count, else there can be no democracy; but we delude ourselves when we assume that the press necessarily gives voice to this opinion. Editorial writing in newspaper and magazine tends to become oracular rather than to be an interpretation of the public mind.

A press untrammeled by authority is indeed necessary in the complex modern world; but the press may be as much in need of self-discipline and restraint as may the peoples themselves.

Public education, although indispensable, does not assure democracy. Education tends toward superior commercial advantage, and toward selfish opportunity. Even those well educated at public expense may use their education only for personal pleasure and gain, and they are likely to employ their added powers in vaster projects of dominion. The discussions of the present moment show that highly edu-

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cated persons may not be democrats. They may know the Demos only as an objective group, for sociological analysis. Those who talk about democracy most may understand it least; they are likely to be aristocrats. Both democracies and autocracies found themselves on education if they pretend to modernism: in the one case the education is that the people may determine for themselves; in the other case it is that The State or the dynasty may be preserved and made efficient.

Socialism, as we now know it, is not democracy. It is likely to be group-tyranny. In operation it may be one of the most intolerant forms of public action. We gradually adopt the projects of socialism, but we avail of them successfully only as classes lose their force and as we are able to apply them to the welfare of the Demos. Applied socialism yet moves heavily in class distinctions, as is perhaps inevitable if its ultimate goal is to eliminate classes. Such distinctions are anti-democratic in practise. So long as it trades in the working classes, or any other classes for or against, it is not democracy, even though it may win hopeful victories for mankind. Its program is industrial rather than democratic.

The last century gave us two antipodal types of autocrats, among many others, one representing the autocracy of a ruling caste and the other the autoc-

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racy of the proletariat. Out of such opposing forces we may evolve a common weld, but we do not know that it will be democracy. If half we read about the Bolsheviki is true, then here have we had an autocracy in full blossom; yet it is understandable that one form of oppressive tyranny is likely to be followed by an inversion of equal or greater violence. When we sow the wind we must expect to reap the whirlwind.

Communism is not democracy. As a complete system, it is largely a tribal form of partnership. In modern form it rests mostly on the principle of common ownership of property and equal division of income rather than on the more current socialistic theory of the distribution of earnings among the body of workers. Communism has not proved itself in a large way, and seems to be too limited and artificial in its action to contribute much to nationalism and to democracy. It lends itself well to experiment, particularly when colored with religious mysticism. When the mysticism and utopianism wear away with succeeding accessions, it tends to become purely industrial and economic and to pass into forms of joint-stock organization. In modern society, communism is a special practice.

Public ownership is not democracy. It may provide no advanced opportunity, and it may take away stimulus, incentive and enthusiasm. Public owner-

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ship as a means of regulation and to eliminate abuses is one thing; as an agency of deprivation it is quite another thing. The outstanding danger in public ownership in practice lies in the fact that we still endeavor to govern society by the political method; this means that the vote-getting and political managership of the administration is kept constantly in the foreground. Nor do we see much greater hope in the so-called business management of public ownership; this in itself may be short-sighted, it may lend itself to selfish interests, and it runs easily into political connections. The only safe management is on the basis of public service, a form of administration in which we are not yet proficient.

Nationalization of land and industry is not democracy. It may be a long step toward democracy if the people is developing in that direction. It may be repressive if the people is not developing democratically and is under the whip of a Supreme State.

Anti-capitalism is not democracy. One of the prevailing notes in contemporaneous discussions is the assumption that capitalism stands squarely across the road of democratic movement. Business transacted independently of capitalistic direction or control is assumed to be democratic by virtue of such independence; yet it may be as autocratic and arbi-

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trary in the one case as in the other. Undoubtedly it is one of the gravest weaknesses of society that capitalism has developed such despotic autocracy and has left its workers without confederated discipline, but the changing of masters may not better the situation or develop a democratic service. If the rule of the capitalist is not democracy, so also is the rule of the workingman not democracy even though his numbers are greater. The real democracy results from union of classes and groups rather than from their separation. Neither "the classes" nor "the masses" constitutes democracy.

The destruction of wealth and of the power of capital leads to anything but democracy.

The complete working agreement of employers and employees would not constitute democracy, for the reason, for one thing, that these persons do not constitute the sum of society. One would think from the current discussion that human affairs is primarily a problem of "employment"; yet the major part of mankind is not "employed." The attention given to the case of the workingman, although needful, is out of proportion to his numbers and place in society. I would not reduce this attention, but I would bring up the other parts. Even if all "workingmen" were democratized, society would not thereby be democratic.

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What It Is Not

Industrialism is not democracy, even when its affairs are satisfactorily democratic. This follows from the previous statements to the effect that industrialism does not compass the Demos, particularly if it is interpreted (as is the custom) to mean manufacturing and transportation and the other ranges representing the employing and the employed. This bilateralism is not the foundation of the combined social and civic fabric. Society is not merely an industrial cohesion or complex for the production and distribution of wealth, although this happens to be the controlling note in the transitional epoch in which we live. If we found our reconstruction of society on the exclusive theory of industrial association, we shall make only a temporary adjustment and by no means reach a solution. What we so proudly call "industrial democracy" is really a class welfare: it is not a democracy of the Demos.

The voice of the afflicted classes is not the voice of democracy, even though the afflictions are real. Disabilities, and the subserviency of workers, may be removed by autocracy more expeditiously than by democracy. "We, the people" is a facile phrase to write, but it may mean only farmers or workingmen, or merchants or politicians. There is now a tendency to hail any vocal opposition to "big business" as an expression of democracy, yet it may not be any more

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democratic than is the mass-movement of big business itself. Often the entire people receives gains by these organized oppositions, for which we should be thankful; thereby are exposed the infirmities of society and the undemocracy of government.

Democracy is not builded on complaint, or on opposition, or on grievances. Neither is it erected on wealth or poverty, or occupation or geography, nor is it furthered by partisan groups platforming on them. The man with an habitual grievance is not the best citizen, nor is a party or a class holding a continuing grievance a good agent of society: such persons and bodies are not cooperators.

Business administration of affairs is not democracy, even when the administration is good, for the reason that "business" is not the goal of mankind. Probably another hundred years will make the present commercial domination of the world to look very crude and much of the biggest of it to have been not worth the while.

Most assuredly, public efficiency is not democracy. Efficiency is quite as likely to be a master as a servant. It usually expresses itself in terms of commerce and exchange: these are operations of any society, whether democratic or otherwise. The world is now fighting the theory of State Efficiency. Democracy is not based on quantity-production of commodities.

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The problem is the reverse: how to develop and maintain a democratic incentive under the conditions and hindrances of the workshop and counting-house.

Organization of groups of the people for civic or political or economic ends is not democracy. The politics of group-control is likely to be deeply despotic or tyrannical. Organization may be a means of controlling public opinion and binding individual action, preventing civic and personal growth. We live in days of vast organization, and at the same time in days of developing democracy, yet these are not cause and effect. Organization is quite as often an anti-democratic growth within a democracy. It is not the basis of free institutions, at least not as organization is now prevailingly understood, which is the power to control and to make demands. Herein lies what I must consider the failure of the present organized labor movement in a democracy: its motive, as mostly displayed to the public, is to make demands or to control situations rather than to serve.

I am well aware of the fine spiritual altruism that actuates many of those interested in the labor movement. I trust their efforts will yield abundant harvests.

The consent of the governed is not democracy. It is indeed axiomatic to all democratic minds that

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"governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," yet in this epoch concern must go farther,— the governed must exercise a choice. The consent may be only the echo of the governing group, reflected from the sounding-board of the people. Probably at any time in the past twenty-five years the people of Prussia would have consented to the form of government that has been devised for them.

But even the choice of the governed may not be a democratic choice. The nature of the enterprise delegated to a government is bound to be an expression of the delegators. They cannot delegate that which they do not possess. They may conceive very imperfectly of their rights and privileges, and they may delegate only partial or minor powers in a very imperfect or ambiguous way.

Equal rights, equality before the law, freedom of speech, a ministry responsible to the people, and the other familiar catch-words, do not imply or guarantee democracy, although they may safeguard it. They are only some of the forms or attributes of successful democracy. A ministry may be responsible to the people in many ways or degrees, and, on the other side, the people may have no real responsibility to assess or to delegate.

The referendum is not democracy. The result in

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this case depends not on the method or the agency, but on the character of the citizenry to which the question is referred as well as on the nature of the question itself. Even the combination of referendum and recall has only limited results in the progress of society. All republics employ the referendum in the plebiscite on public officers, but we may not yet have arrived at democracy thereby; and the limited tenure of office is, in practice, a recall. As the recall depends on temporary public sentiment, often more than on reason, so does the incumbent against whom it is urged employ the natural prophylactic, which is to play to public prejudice. The limited term of office is sufficient recall for officers, except in case of malfeasance and then the law provides a remedy; and the repeal and amendment by constituted legislatures is thus far the safest remedy for unwise or doubtful legislation. The referendum must always remain a very special process.

The "rule of the average man" is not democracy: it is more likely to be catastrophe. It is unfortunate that we so freely employ the word "to rule" in our popular discussions, for thereby do we restrict democracy to one phase of public action, as if rulership were its end and aim. The word harks back to old servilities. In the people inheres the power and with them lies the final choice; but in any democ-

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racy worth the while the people choose experts for government as they choose experts for sanitation or engineering. The "average man" (granting that he exists) is no more fitted to rule than to be a school-master or the captain of a ship. It is a great privilege that democracy provides all its citizens, enabling them to have the advantage of the best ability on their own choice. The intellect of the community or the State is shared by all the citizens.

It is just because qualified experts have not been chosen for government that democratic institutions have so often failed. A real democracy eliminates the habitual politician, but not the unselfish student of public affairs. We witness a shocking mediocrity in popular government: this is largely because we have not learned how to choose the right kind of leaders and executives. It is said that autocracy does better, but we might find far otherwise if the affairs of autocracy were to be made public; but even so, the dangers are too great to make the process desirable.

Democracies would not tolerate in public places many of the scions of aristocracy and the inheritors of dynasty. It is to be said, also, that the mediocrity in public servants in a democracy is probably more marked in appointive officers than in elective officers. The use of experts is not oligarchy, for these experts do not constitute a perpetuating ruling caste: they are of the people and they return to the people.

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What It Is Not

The popular notion that the electing of any man to office is democracy, if only he is an upright citizen, is one of our precious fallacies. It is no more to our credit to "pass around" the offices than to ask first one neighbor and then another to serve as the family physician. It is just because of this comfortable practice that bosses are able to get control and to build an autocracy within the machinery of democracy.

We have learned that the setting up of popular legislatures does not constitute democracy. They are specially liable to be controlled by groups and coteries that hold their places not by popular will but by hidden processes, not subject to control. The small cabinet of some countries that submits questions to the legislature or supervises its work, is often thought undemocratic, yet if it is answerable directly to the people it has responsibility and is controllable. It is little likely to work for covered interests; and it may direct the work of legislation, prevent the tempests of new bills that have had no supervision, and make for a continuous policy. In the United States the legislatures are undoubtedly poor leaders of democracy, however much they may reflect popular demand on all kinds of subjects. They need responsible leadership, and this requires a radical reorganization of them.

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Popular parliaments and political bodies do not make democracy. They provide an intermediary between the people and the establishment that is designed to execute the affairs of the people. They reflect democracy only in the degree to which the people is democratic. They should establish responsibility. The responsibility to the people is exercised in many ways. The principle of interpellation of the cabinet or "government" by the people (as represented in a parliament or senate) is one of the directest means of insuring responsibility. This method is unfortunately absent in the United States, and the administrative cabinet is independent of Congress. Contrariety is likely to arise. On the other hand, the United States is fortunate in having statutory terms of office, making for stability of government; the administration cannot be overturned by popular clamor or by clever drives and combinations of "the opposition," creating a situation that may not express or represent the will of the people. The definite term and constituency ought to fix responsibility, and the officer submits to the judgment of the people at the close of his stewardship.

Republicanism is not democracy. In making this statement I am not considering the old contrasts,—of democracy in which the people assemble and directly make their laws and choose their executives

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(which is possible only in a very small State and more or less in local affairs) as distinguished from the method of electing delegates or representatives who make the laws and choose the executives. In these days the delegate form is necessarily the method of democracy; yet, as democracy is a quality in a people rather than in a government, it follows that the republican method creates nothing, being representative. Republics are often oligarchies, a check being placed on the voice of the people.

Many observers hold that government must be the privilege and responsibility of a small circle, this circle gradually widening as education elevates the people. This is oligarchy, and it soon becomes encysted. In a democracy, a small number of persons may actually handle affairs at any moment, but they are chosen by the people, they move within strictly delegated powers, and they are responsible to their electors rather than to themselves or to their group. They serve the people, which is the Demos. Education should make the electors more competent, increase their power, and provide a wider choice of servitors.

There are those who uphold democratic forms and yet do not "believe in the people." These persons are not democrats. Whether the people are to be

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trusted or not, they are nevertheless the end for which governments exist.

The distribution or pro-rating of wealth and other benefits among the people is not democracy. It would submerge the individual of unusual powers, and it would award to the idlers and the half-awakes a proportion of welfare beyond their deserts. Without the incentive of superior achievement society can not rise above mediocrity, and mediocre societies cannot attain to democracy.

The levelling of society, then, is not democracy, nor is uniformity in public action democracy. All men are created free and equal in respect of their citizenship in the world and in their rights before the bar of justice, but they are not all physicians or artists or builders or farmers nor have they equal or even comparable abilities. The essence of free democracy is to remove the bans from those who would avail themselves of opportunities. The way is too long and the race is too urgent to place hurdles before those who would strip themselves for the running. A society characterized by uniformity would be a dreadful thing.

There is need enough for reducing the stratifications in society, but the process is to elevate from beneath not to level from above.

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All aristocracies, to be sure, stand in the way of democracy, whether they be of birth, position, military rank, of land or of wealth. Yet we must distinguish between aristocracy and superiority, which latter arises from personal development and public service. Real superiority is never arrogant, demands no special privilege, is not puffed up, does not behave itself unseemly. Without superiority there is no democracy, but only uniformity.

Decentralization is not democracy. A strong centralized government may be essential for the transaction of public affairs; of course the people should have the power to terminate any government, as they also have the right in the first place to create it. Many good Americans fear for democracy in war-time because the President and certain executive departments exercise so much power; but such power is necessary for the prosecution of war, and we elect a president every four years. The people have only delegated the power for a definite purpose; they have not given up the will to control.

I have little fear of these centralizations for emergencies, if the instruments of democracy are left to operate; in fact, they are likely to provide us an escape from real tyrannies of commercial and corporate control. I am convinced that the food and fuel administrations, and other strong executive war-time

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agencies in the several countries, will make a real contribution to democracy by breaking the chains and showing us new directions; and the free cooperation of the people in these enterprises is both heartening and reassuring. Whether in government or in industry, centralized executive authority is necessary; if such authority is really delegated and in the end controlled by the people or the stockholders, the democratic principle is maintained. The danger lies in deputing everything to a central authority, leaving no range of activities for the people, and in allowing too great freedom for the "executive order." Some forces should never be delegated; the people should never abdicate; and then is there no danger of absolutism.

Even in a republican democracy, an autocrat may arise in time of stress; yet if the people itself is democratic and if the system of franchise and election is such as to express the will of the people, the power of the dictator is brief and his career is inglorious.

Popular politics, whereby all the people have knowledge of the political situation and read the papers avidly, is not democracy. This may be only the enjoyment of certain privileges and a form of entertainment.

Universal suffrage is not democracy. Suffrage is

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only a form of civic exercise. It may be controlled by many forces, democratic or autocratic. Woman suffrage is not a surety of democracy.

So, also, is home rule not democracy. It is only a transfer of the machinery of government, or the operating of the machinery by different persons or agencies, or a policy of hands-off. Another group takes control. One group may be as undemocratic as the other. The political boss always wants home rule.

Autonomy is not democracy. It is a governmental delivery or concession. It may be only a piece of clever political machinery to disguise autocracy. It may be a means of balancing power between factions, or a remedy to silence public unrest. Democratic autonomy inheres in the people: it is not granted by a superior agency; or if it is granted, the agency only returns to the people what it took from them.

Majority-rule is not democracy: it may mean only a form of organization. Fifty-one per cent of the stock of a corporation controls it, and yet the corporation may be damagingly autocratic or even demagogic. Readily may we perceive that a virile aggressive group may gather to itself sufficient votes to rule a people, ruling for itself and by itself, setting up its own criteria, forcing its policies. For many years we have endeavored to break up certain nests that breed majorities. In a democracy, minorities are as precious as majorities; all the people are

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to serve, all are to partake. The Demos is not a majority.

The voting body does not constitute a democracy by its votes, no matter how wide may be the franchise. This is because democracy is not primarily or fundamentally a question of votes: it is a question of influences.

Then may I say that not even the rule of the people is democracy, and for the very simple reason that the people may not rule in a democratic way.

Political equilibrium is not democracy, nor is any other artificial equalizing of power between parties or between governments, and for the good reason that it does not offer solutions but only expediencies; and the expediencies are likely to be wicked. The "balance of power," whereby a stool is made to stand on vicarious legs that do not belong to it, has been a vicious philosophy, and the present War should shoot it to pieces.

Yet complacency is not democracy, nor is submission or surrender; nor is docility. Democracy is itself a crusade. It will gather itself to strike a stalwart blow for an idea. In the nature of the case, it must overwhelm the autocrat. Democracy and autocracy come to grips whenever their roads cross. There is no evasion of the issue. A democ-

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racy that will not fight for democracy is not worth its salt.

All nations or states of democratic faith are indeed founded on right rather than on force; but until all other states are similarly founded, democracies must be ready to use their force to protect themselves and to destroy the gargantuas that now and then stalk across the world.

Peace is not democracy. It may be only a state of inaction or even of vacuity. Under its cover despots and political masters may persecute and subjugate the people. Some of the completest subjugations are the slow processes applied when peoples think themselves safe. Many of the greatest and justest wars have been revolts from these processes. What we have come to describe as peace may be only a fool's paradise. The world has not yet known real peace.

So, therefore, democracy cannot be granted by a government and particularly not by a despotic ruler. A despot may release his hold, he may even concede a magna charta, but democracy lies not with him. Parliaments and congresses do not make or bestow democracy, nor even assure it. Essays written by statesmen, and constitutions bequeathed by oligarchic bodies, and privileges graciously granted, do not constitute democracy.

And, contrariwise, democracy cannot be won by

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force of arms. By arms we may overthrow despots, wipe out tyrannies, discard old bondages, and thereby prepare the way. We may provide peoples the opportunity.

So do definitions, edicts, decrees, and formulae not constitute democracy. It cometh not at the beck of sovereign will or of imposed processes. Autocracy parades itself under the forms of democracy, and grows arrogant thereby. It bedecks itself in shining armor, and its civil officers, representing the political powers of the State, drag their swords behind them.

Democracy cannot be bestowed. It cannot be given to anybody. It cannot be handed out. It must be won, by patient preparation. It is a result, not a gift.

Democracy is not a form of government, any more than religion is a form of worship.

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2. What It Is

Now, therefore, may we see more clearly, the scaffolding having been removed. We behold a structure much simpler, and therefore much more beautiful, than we had conceived.

Democracy is a state of society. It is such a constitution of the social order as allows each member to develop his personality to the full and at the same time to participate in public affairs on his own motion. The Demos is self-controlling.

So, likewise, is peace a state of society. Certainly it is not an agreement not to fight, not even a successful conciliation, not a treaty or an understanding. A treaty of peace is only a pledge of the contending parties that under certain conditions they will behave themselves. Peace inheres in the nature of the social organization. It is not external, nor extraneous, nor a symptom. It is one of the fruitions of democracy, an evidence that people have arrived at enduring values and have learned self-control.

Democratic society expresses itself in many ways: in government and other national action, in religion,

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in an educational intention, in some particular social order.

Democracy is primarily a sentiment — a sentiment of personality. It is the expression of the feeling that every person, whatever his birth or occupation, shall develop the ability and have the opportunity to take part. Its motive is individualism on the one hand and voluntary public service on the other,— the welfare and development of the individual and of all individuals.

The wealth of a democracy lies in its people, not in its government or its goods. The product of democracy is self-acting men and women. The well-being and progress of society require that every citizen, of whatever age, may have the opportunity to discover himself or herself and to make use of himself largely in his own way. Any theory of The State as the end of society or as the motive of government leads away from democracy as darkness leads away from light. It may be said that The State can bequeath privileges to its people and can develop the highest forms of prosperity; very good: yet its very perfection is its condemnation, its strength is its weakness, and it will explode of its own pressure. The citizen must be able to think of himself in other terms than in terms of The State. The State is not

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the end of society any more than the church is the end of religion.

A democratic society can exist only on the basis of active and enthusiastic public service. Essentially this service is voluntary, yet it may be required of those who do not volunteer. This service is far broader and deeper than military service alone.

The service of democracy is not the blind allegiance to an autocrat, whether that autocrat is a State, a Party, or a King. Otherwise it is only subjugation.

Democracy rests on living conditions and on civic opportunities. It is rooted in the daily life, in what a person is able to acquire in goods, in his intellectual progress, in what he is competent and at liberty to think, in his freedom of movement, in his spiritual aspiration, in his expression of himself. The person is to be placed in the most advantageous environment.

If the person is to be placed in the most advantageous conditions and environment, so will he desire a similar privilege for his neighbor and voluntarily assume the responsibility of which I speak. The yielding of advantage to another, the giving up of granted "rights" that another may have a larger life, are in the very essence of the democratic state.

As the man and the woman and child are part of

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the social order, so must the social order be cohesive; otherwise it is anarchy. Democracy is highly organic; but its organization is for the good of all, not for the propagation of a party or the maintenance of a dominating family, or for power or supremacy or dynasty, or for any other conquest than the conquest of the soul. Overhead dominion not delegated by the people is obviated or eliminated. Its laws will be powerful and effective because they rest in the will of the people. It is the special privilege of the democrat to uphold the constituted government.

Democracy, as represented in republican forms, is not a pile of pebbles or a bundle of sticks. Its parts are grown coherently together. It can operate as a unit. The War will show that it is capable of rapid, definite and effective action.

So the organization of democracy is for public weal and benefit, never for dominion, never for aggrandizement, never for one part of the Demos and not for the whole. Government is not an aim in itself.

Government organs may become bureaus, bureaucratic rather than democratic, jealous of their rights and power, immured in their privileges as if they created them, unpossessed of the will to yield. It is this readiness to yield to outside council, rather than to pressure, that marks government in a democracy;

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yet government is likely to place greater value on mere regularity and invariableness, which it calls by the sacred word "consistency," than on flexibility to meet clear public needs and to hold the interest of the plain man.

Democracy, as distinguished from government, is an end or aim. It is a mission. It is not a by-product of industrialism; it is not an accident or an incident; it is not an adjustment of business; it is not an arrangement between organized interests. A country is democratic only when its people think in terms of democracy. Public sentiment is the most powerful force in democracy.

Responsibility, not freedom, is the key word in democracy,— responsibility for one's self, for the good of the neighbor, for the welfare of the Demos. Until every citizen feels this responsibility as an inescapable personal obligation, there is no complete democracy.

Cooperation, not competition, is the password. It is the natural result of the responsibility each citizen assumes. Verily, the basis of democracy is Service.

The organization of war is not democratic: quite the contrary. If militarism is to be the method of civilization, then democracy is plainly unattainable.

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Yet vast democratic gains may come out of war. Americans are entitled to hope for at least two great gains for themselves in the present War, aside from helping to make the world safe for democracy: the setting of new personal standards for soldiers, who constitute millions of energized young citizens; the raising of the moral tone of society by means of many kinds of big-hearted cooperation. All these gains are conditioned on the real idealism in which we went to war.

The only freedom is organized freedom, that kindly involves the whole people. Personal freedom, involving not service, means civic and social disunion, every man looking for advantage or acting for himself. When selfish persons come together, they organize their selfishness and pass laws to protect it.

Citizenship is a reality. It has value. It is not alone a protection to an individual. He assumes obligations. He is called on when need be, to protect the society that has protected him; and he is under obligation at all times to cooperate in it. If one's country is right, it never means so much to the citizen as in time of war.

So, therefore, are we to distinguish democracy from politics, for politics, as men have come to know it,

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is a game played for advantage. Not until present forms of party lines have subsided or disappeared in the nations of the world, will the best democracy appear and persist.

In time of war, party governments are abrogated, or should be so, indicating that political partisanship is inadequate to the handling of great fundamental problems.

The fundamental concept in a democracy is that government and the other forms of public action are expressions that inhere in the people themselves. Then, therefore, the free education of all the people into large views of life is essential if the people are to be responsive and competent. The intention of this education is personal and social, not to safeguard and support a super-imposed State.

It may help us to concrete the subject if we set over against Democracy some of the things and ideas that we consider to be its opposites or at least of antagonistic genera. These antonyms and antitheses are a precious lot, and they smell with age. Here are some of them: medievalism, autocracy, absolutism, tyranny, despotism, dictatorship, domination and rule, dominion, supremacy, sovereignty, aggression and conquest, colonization for profit, militarism, cæsarism, imperialism, royal favor, overlordship, divine

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right, hereditary privilege, nabobery, pan-nationalism, exploitation, aristocracy, oligarchy, bureaucracy, officialism, toryism, dynasticism, paternalism, balance of power, intrigue, arbitrary powers of all kinds and classes, covered diplomacy, international burglary, plutocracy, patronage, subjugation, conspiracy and espionage, slavery and peonage and serfdom, peasanthood, vassalage — how the ages of struggle for breath roll before us! — piracy, bondage and mastery, monopoly, reactionism, jingoism, bossism, standpatism, organizationism, fanaticism, fatalism, dogmatism, intolerance, superstition, infallibility, group-control, materialism, nihilism, anarchy, selfishness, ignorance. There are those who think that democracy is not inevitable: perhaps not; yet one cannot contemplate this list of monsters with which the world has grappled without the feeling that there is a perfecting principle in humanity which holds its course across the centuries.

The words for democracy are fewer than those for its opposite, and yet democracy makes progress and eventually will overthrow them all.

In a democracy, the people is the State. The character and the quality of the people determine the nature of the State.

I find the root of democracy in spiritual religion rather than in political freedom or organized indus-

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trial efficiency. Democracy is a spiritual power or product in a people. It is invisible. Spiritual forces are stronger than guns.

It expresses itself in humbleness of spirit. When any people assumes an attitude of superiority, we know thereby that it is not a democracy: Pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall.

Then may I say that real democracy is the perfect expression of religion, and a perfected religion is the destination of man.

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3. Some of the Hindrances

From lower states mankind has come. He has come up through savagery and tribalism, through clan and thane and serf, through lordship and kingship and subjugation, throwing off a burden here, taking on a responsibility there. Not yet are all the hindrances and disabilities removed nor all the tyrants displaced. Far have we yet to go before we are free or able to be democratic.

Whether there are yet any matured democratic societies in the world, under my definition, is of no consequence to the exposition of the subject. But the will for democracy, the ideal to which any society may always work, is of every consequence; this constitutes democracy for its generation. The democracy of one epoch is the autocracy or oligarchy of a succeeding epoch.

I am not here presenting examples, for or against. I shall not even discuss the huge political dynastic tyrannies that still bend the shoulders of the race. These are for the moment so arrogant and hateful as to be beyond argument. We shall do them to death on the field of battle. Yet some things I may mention: they issue from the principles I have stated.

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It is not too much to hope, perhaps, that we may find some of the practical elements in democracy.

First must I mention (by way of repetition) the canker of unsympathetic self-interest. The person who shuts himself up to his own concerns is not a democrat, no matter how he votes or under what form of social association he lives. A nation of selfish individuals is never a democracy.

Democratic society is impossible until its population is possessed of the spirit of helpfulness to others.

Then must I follow with the hindering system of mass-drives, which so many honest persons think to be democratic because it affects so many people and is so successful and so defiant of government. These mass-movements of capital, of trades, occupations and assembled units are likely to be enlarged expressions of selfishness, and to inure to the benefit of organizers and a few so-called leaders. They tend to develop into mass-passions, leading even to armed espionage and sabotage. They may eliminate some of the best possibilities of individualism and personality. They may take responsibility from individuals and transfer it to the group. This is why the masses known as cities are undemocratic,— because the individuals in them are submerged in the system. The citizen is subjugated even to public utilities.

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Yet a still more insidious danger lies in class organization: it is the danger of substituting organizationism for investigation and study. An organization develops a program, a line of action, founded on a set of ideas of its own. This organized opinion may have received assent or even approval by vote of the membership; the organization speaks for its constituency, and yet it may not represent the essential feeling of that constituency or of the department of welfare for which it stands. Present tendency is to attempt solutions by collating the opinions of leading persons and copying the programs of organizations. This method prevents or eliminates serious impartial study of the situation. We do not arrive at truth by the process of averaging advice or of establishing a consensorium of opinion. The organization may express a class mind of small range.

Nothing is more dangerous, in a democracy, than to assume that the voice of organizations is the voice of the class or range they represent (page 21). It is much to be feared that in times of reconstruction we shall look for solutions to organizations rather than to students. The more perfectly the organization is "organized" the greater is the likelihood that it will have a cabinet policy carefully controlled by a few "leaders." Only one policy may be presented to the organization, and as there is no alternative, the membership votes it; or if the membership pro-

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poses policies, only one is chosen and that one is capable of endless modifications in practise.

In the modern world, organizationism tends to become a new form of autocracy.

If it is necessary that we arrive at a common understanding as to what democracy is, so do we need a definition of leadership. The real leader is more likely to be out of office than in office. He may not even be much known personally to the multitude. He does not advertize. He is not a commander, nor a rounder-up of votes. There are some offices that lead because of their place in the civic scheme, and the persons who fill them are leaders by virtue of office; yet they may not be leaders in their own right when out of office. The violent partisan is rarely a real leader, although he may have a temporary following. It is one of the compensations of life that leadership may be exercised quietly yet effectively.

The leader should be allowed to lead. Too often we incorporate him into a set of programs.

I fear that the systems of franchise and election do not encourage the real democrats to assume leadership. They stimulate those strong in the ego, who have policies to try rather than services to render, who love to ride in the public eye. Probably the final test of a democratic State is its ability to find and to utilize the actual democrats.

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We must be careful to distinguish those who are leaders because of the free choice of the people that are led, and those who hold positions of headship by their own efforts to keep themselves in the saddle. When an expression of the various trades, occupations, and groups is required, it is customary to call into consultation the officers of their organizations; yet these officers may not really represent their groups. Often they hold themselves in power by all the resources of petty politics, and represent a small autocracy either of personal ambition or of special coteries. Some of the most damaging politics is played far outside the political parties. Because any occupation or class is "well organized," it does not follow that it has self-expression. The ideas and the policies put forward as those of the class may be formed within a small self-constituted junta. Perhaps nothing is so difficult in a democracy as to arrive at the real opinions of any class or group of the people.

Therefore, what is popularly called leadership may not be a test of democracy. It is rather a test of democracy that it survives some of its leadership. Many leaders of public opinion rather than one leader, leaders representing freely all ranges and brotherhoods of the people, the gradual elimination of the party politician in favor of the trained expert, will-

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ingness to delegate powers to tried representatives, to commission certain persons for given affairs, are essential features in democracy. Whereas executive power may be localized to accomplish definite ends desired by the public, the sentiment and feeling of the people — which is the real controlling force — must be the result of stimulated spontaneous growth. The common people are by nature democratic; they may need discipline but not subjugation.

All boards, commissions, councils, and institutes that sit in judgment on the productive work of individuals are usually anti-democratic. Their natural tendency is to set up criteria, and thereby to be conservative and to stand in the way of progress. The fact that they pass sentence unfits them to encourage strong variations. Radical reformation of law, lying beyond regulation of procedure, is not expected to come from judges on the bench. It is notorious that some of the greatest works of art, literature, and invention have failed to receive the sanction of the constituted umpires of their day. Societies that limit membership to a stated number on the basis of standing are likewise undemocratic, even though they may exercise a salutary effect on the profession. It is less important that pieces of work conform to regularity and meet the approval of a body of authorities than that individuals be stimulated. The human result is

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the great desideratum. Democracy does not thrive under censorship.

There is always the danger that we substitute rules for common sense.

The force we know as "capital" does not contribute, in its corporate capacity, to democracy: quite otherwise. The cohesive force we know as "labor" does not contribute, in its organizational method, to democracy: quite the contrary. These forces exercise or usurp powers that inhere properly in government: they practically govern classes, more or less independently of the general public weal. They are forced to take action in self-defense because government does not act. It is often said that we have too much government. In fact, we have too little government. Much of what we know as government is only compromise, or the balancing of forces between different factions. The great and abiding contributions to democracy are made by the vast middle classes and the rural people who are little organized for the purpose of securing collective or mass advantage.

The obstructing unyielding employer constitutes a heavy load on democracy. It is specially heavy when coupled with excessive profits in war time, which naturally breeds unrest in the workingmen.

The strike in war-time is a pitiful exhibition. It is ungracious and dishonorable when it is in violation

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of contracts mutually agreed to. The laboring man and artisan must feel their responsibility to the public that protects and even favors them; they must act on this responsibility before they can contribute importantly to the making of democracy. Personal advantage must give way, on occasion, to public advantage.

Government by factions is never government by democracy.

The "cause" of suffrage, or capital or agriculture or labor is much less important than the cause of the people.

Domination by either capital or labor, by producer or consumer, by the agreements and understandings of trades-people, is suppressive of democratic feeling. At present we are in the epoch of these great crystalizing movements. They sweep through society as tornadoes sweep over the earth, leaving in their track disorder and dislocation. When we shall have passed this age of social violence, we shall weld the forces into agencies for orderly democracy. We have assumed that the organization of all the groups within a people to secure for them their rights and privileges constitutes the necessary basis of social progress; it has become our philosophy of democracy: but the basis is socially unsound and in practice the theory is dangerous.

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Yet the direct mass-pressure of the classes, which is just now visibly expressed in the labor movement, is not the gravest danger. The menace to society lies perhaps even more in the use that a party or government (or administration) may make of the class organization, playing to it, catering to it, patronizing it; thereby the class-interest receives the accretion of a political interest outside itself, and the combined power may be irresistible, over-riding the welfare of large parts of the population. In war time this menace is specially acute and dangerous. "Labor" is necessary to the prosecution of war; it is on the alert for class advantage; its contribution is likely to be much advertized and exploited; it plays for position. The fear of "labor" on the part of governments, and the readiness to purchase fealty with concessions, is one of the most pathetic spectacles in modern society, exposing the impotence of government. The contribution of any class or group may be indispensable; this contribution may be made as a public service, as a plain economic exercise, or as a means of obtaining control. So long as we practise the theory of class-pressure as a controlling element in democracy, so long do we expose society to group-autocracy; and as this autocracy is so plausible and is supported by so many popular methods, it is the most dangerous of all.

We have passed through a nightmare of organiza-

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tion to secure the results that the governments representing society should have produced or at least have led us to foresee. May we not profit by these experiences with political partisanship, religious intolerance, capital and labor, and forestall further civic-social warfares? There is now a call for the ultimate consumers to organize for protection against producer and trader and parasite. If this is necessary that the consumer may be protected, what comment shall we make on the existing organs of society?

Commercial competition in itself must be considered a hindrance to democracy. We make it measurably safe by controlling it within forms of law, and the democratic sentiment of men grows in spite of it. In another place (Universal Service) I have related it to other forms of antagonism and enmity. One phase of it is economic pressure exerted between nations, a modern form of balance of power. It is a dangerous weapon. Economic pressure may hinder or stop new wars, although it can not bring real peace. As economic pressure, perhaps of another kind, produced the present War, so may such pressure end it, although, as this War is a test of militarism, it is to be hoped that it will be won by the overthrow of military methods. In the present state of society, in which economic pressure is the dominant note and which will exist for some time to come, we are to look

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for economic power to take the place of military power. This, although unsafe, will be another step in progress, bringing us that much nearer, perhaps, to a state of true peace. This will substitute modernism for medievalism, and by that much prepare for futurism. I think we are justified to withhold from Germany the raw materials that she would put into weapons to destroy those who supply her, until such time as she is ready to be a good neighbor. She is using the most debased methods, and any force or method we apply will be a gain over her military practice.

All subterranean influences check the operation of democracy. Secret diplomacy makes international democracy impossible. So do secret influences controlling national, state or local policies have a similar effect within their ranges. These influences that work under cover are several and very real. I mention but one,— the control of affairs by the liquor interests. Little do we realize to what extent these local diplomacies shape the policies of communities. In cities and villages, policies issue from no one knows where, the lips of strong men are sealed, the course of government is controlled. It is this underground action that makes the liquor business so dangerous, supporting forces far more sinister than the personal moralities associated with strong drink. So long as these

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concealed forces persist there can be no full bloom of democracy.

As this paragraph is written, the Congress of the United States is apparently to pass the national prohibition bill as a war measure. Other countries have taken stringent measures. These enactments will not dispose of the rights and privileges of the individual when they do not conflict with the welfare of society, and the question is bound to recur with great force after the exigencies are passed. But it is to be hoped that the question will not be opened until the liquor power, as an organized class interest, has been completely broken and its grip on politics and public action has been loosed forever. If the use of certain lighter beverages is then to be allowed, the action may be taken on its merits and with only a single problem involved; and the sale of such commodities may be removed from secrecy to open wholesome places, under proper safeguards, where other beverages are dispensed.

The standard example of the covered influence controlling society is what has been loosely and inaccurately called "the money power." It has controlled officers, corrupted legislatures, and so arranged affairs that the people have voted against their own welfare. It has been so covert that it could not be attacked. The organizations of labor and other

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classes have rendered great service here, by bringing the dangers into the open. They have educated the people and the employer, quickening the public conscience. They have elevated their own people, and have disciplined them. It is because these dominations of money have been so concealed and so hateful, so arrogantly autocratic, that the demand has risen for public ownership of all utilities and even for the distribution of wealth. Perhaps we shall yet be able to find a stable middle ground, that will safeguard the expression of individuality at the same time the public interest is protected; this solution may lie in the retaining of private ownership with strict public accountability.

The distributing of political patronage is an old and settled practice, and it is directly anti-democratic. It is anti-democratic because it rewards service of a political nature to an individual or to a party, rather than to the public, without being subject to the control of the people. It has no organic relation to the state of affairs. It is a personal reward, not a choice for fitness. In proportion as a people becomes democratic does it object to favoritism and place-hunting. In the United States, political patronage is in such bad repute that it is made a charge against both the giver and receiver; yet it persists. Certain departments of government are relatively free of it, by com-

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mon consent, as the judiciary, education, public health: these are not "political" departments, the party men realizing that a better qualified kind of service is essential to their success. The same idea of fitness will gradually attach to other departments. The Civil Service is instituted to check the contagion of patronage, one arm of government being set up to watch the other. The coming of woman suffrage will check patronage because a given number of jobs will make less impression on twice the number of voters. Probably the weakness of patronage will not vanish until such a system of election is devised as will allow only qualified citizens to hold office. When the people are ready to establish such a standard, it will be a democratic growth.

A staggering burden for a democracy to carry is the triviality of the life of women. As a whole, these lives are filled with very small affairs and have little outlook beyond their immediate circumstances. The habitual conversation of women reveals this sterility: it is mostly about small personal matters. The War has made the idleness of vast numbers of women to stand out in great relief, as it has also found endless useful activities for others. The work-or-fight orders do not reach them. They are free to continue in their vacuities and frivolities. The processes of contemporaneous civilization have not made them a

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contributing part in society. Yet there are other women carrying the burden of the War with noble devotion and with striking results. Many others hold the responsibilities of children and homes that they cannot delegate, and they contribute their whole duty in keeping the world at work. But the unconcerned ornamental women who feel no responsibility for the burden of the world's pain constitute in themselves a real problem in democracy. We have little more than begun the training of women for their essential part in the plan of things. One of the major problems of society is to find ways of utilizing this latent power.

The home is, of course, the primary safeguard; it cannot be delegated to society; yet the home is only one of the organic agencies. I am not now thinking of politics for women, nor of votes: these activities in themselves are likely to be barren: the plane of thinking of women needs elevation beyond personal affairs to the wholesome problems and opportunities of the race. The opening of the trades and professions to women is of minor consequence. We need not imitation of men or the taking of men's work so much as a point of view of women in homes and elsewhere, in their accustomed places, that will count in human affairs. It is a poor social philosophy that considers woman to be a duplicate of man. Their best influence is to be exerted as women, not as pro-

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fessionals, trades-people or politicians. I doubt whether the problems are to be solved by "the public woman" of our present-day agitations. There are no half solutions of any problem; the social questions are neither male nor female; the best and most active trained opinion of both men and women is essential for any real solution. One of the best democratic growths of recent time is the beginning of the emergence of women from their historic stratum. In time we shall develop a powerful body of desire and opinion from the legions in the unexpressed half of the world's population: then shall we have democracy not male nor female.

When we attain to democracy, by the eventful processes of evolution, we shall have eliminated the parasites. I have no sympathy with the idea that only the "workers," the direct producers, are to make up the perfect social state. The intermediaries, the purveyors, the delvers for new knowledge, the dispensers of ideas, the creators of beauty, are essential to any society that will keep. These people add value to life and value to goods. Even a bushel of good potatoes has no value if floating in the middle of the Atlantic, nor has a great ship, even with all its equipment and cargo intact, if it lies on the bottom of the sea. But there are lazy folk, indifferent folk, non-contributors, gossipers, self-idolators, leeches

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that suck the blood of the community, and the gilded company of snobs: when we find ourselves, in the good time coming, we shall regard these gentry to be enemies of society, as we now regard the dissipators and the criminals.

The prevailing willingness for entertainment must be checked or modified if the best democracy is to be attained. Much of it is a kill-time enterprise, whereby certain specialists or experts "entertain" or amuse an audience; and the larger the audience the more successful the affair is supposed to be. They that are entertained are merely sitters, contributing nothing, coming with no preparation, expressing no personality, taking no part. Relaxation there must be, but the present wholesale entertainment-movement goes far beyond this necessity, as also beyond the needs of sociality. For the better class of entertainment, which rises into the realm of art, the person must bring a good intellectual preparation founded on reading, study, and reflection; the relative unpopularity of this class indicates how little the people desire to take the trouble to prepare themselves. The recreations and pastimes that constitute a training for democracy demand personal effort on the part of all, every person contributing a part however small, partaking in the responsibility, benefitting in the development of the individual. To be

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amused with the crowd is not the making of a democrat.

Poverty is a powerful preventive of democracy, both because it prevents the individual from developing his potential force and keeps him stationary, and because it makes the strongest social cleavages. The children of poverty start with a heavy disadvantage. A democratic spirit works directly toward the prevention and elimination of poverty by removing barriers and by stimulating and helping the person. As the cause of poverty is so confusingly complex, so is there no simple remedy; but to find the remedies is a responsibility of democracy.

The incapacity of the public to grasp the social and civic relation of the rural background is certainly a hindrance. The fault lies in our education, and the over-emphasis of financial and computable values. I have before me an announcement of a new school in which the political sciences are to be stressed. In the statement of program, I note that the usual urban and corporate range of subjects is discussed, with no mention of the rural background of society; and yet democracy is impossible without such background. Our school education is urban; even that in rural places rapidly takes on the urban character. We have come to think in terms of groups and organiza-

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tion, rather than in terms of men. Only a small percentage of mankind is organized in the social sense, and I fear that organization in the current meaning may not lead toward democracy.

Of course I shall be asked at once how we can bring the organs of society into such action that class-warfare may be avoided: society is no wiser than its parts. No one expects the millennium. We make progress by making mistakes. Yet certain incentives always may be kept before us, as, for example, a really democratic education and a public practice of chosing qualified leaders. The present political machinery does not conduce to the choice of such leaders. A democracy must always be taught by its leaders. If we agree that society is not wiser than its parts, yet must we admit that it is useless to train competents if we do not use them publicly. We fail to see the reason for the divorcement of so many of the best experts from the managership of society; it is said that such persons are not "practical," but the management of the so-called practical man does not lead us to feel that improvement is impossible. At least can the public mind be prepared for the conviction that society as a whole, acting in its various national units, is capable to take over the disputes and emergencies of the classes. If we do not find a formula that will answer the question, yet may we

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ask the question insistently and this will work strongly toward solutions. We may at least diagnose the illness.

It is an erroneous teaching that holds individualism to be no longer possible, because of the increasing social complexities and the submersion of the person. Never have we needed individualism so much as now,— men and women who stand out above the complex and whose authority is in themselves. Here lies the menace in the vast uniformity and impersonality of modern school systems: they cannot practice a strong selective process. Yet individualism alone has no social cement and it would produce an orderless society. The cohesion is provided by the team-work of service. We have not yet learned how to develop these two sides of a man simultaneously and strongly, but there is nothing impossible or antagonistic in it. "*How to work with enthusiasm for oneself and at the same time to work with enthusiasm with one's fellows,* is probably the major problem in life. The extent and the completeness to which this can be accomplished is a measure of the successful life in the enlarging social state."— Universal Service, page 13.

Democracy gives scope for ability, ambition, and hope. It makes the most of every man and woman and child. It stimulates initiative.

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If democracy rests on the individual, enabling him to develop all the good there is in him, then are we to fear the tendency of all government to become impersonal. We may not have any recognized current doctrine of the infallibility of government (except in cases now under fire), yet in practice governments try to hide their errors and they do not often maintain an open mind on their own acts; this is well attested in the difficulty of getting any government or office to reverse a position even though the position is palpably wrong. In this respect it is less responsible than the individual. A government is likely to take the attitude, also, that it cannot give heed to the need of the individual: this is exactly the measure of its failure, as if it were a fault if government should come to be direct. The practice of governmental infallibility is a special danger in a democracy.

There is no democracy without personal responsibility. It is the essential antecedent to the responsibility of the State.

Democracy is indeed the expression of individualism, but in terms of the public good. The variations of personality are to be encouraged rather than eliminated. The modern processes of standardization, resulting from the machinery habit, whereby all the wrinkles of society are ironed out, have in them much

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danger to a satisfying social order. The standardizing in large industrial establishments is justified in its manufacturing results rather than in its human results. The standardizing in politics and in governmental proccesses is no less dangerous. We have committed ourselves to this domination in the public schools. Above all, lies the danger of standardization in our forming plans of social reconstruction. In these days, the machine dominates our philosophy. We must take special care that the forces of variability are encouraged, to counteract these great dangers.

Everywhere do the people set themselves against the steam-roller and the machine; and yet the machine is likely to crush them. Being aware of the danger, I am convinced that we shall find ways to keep the mechanisms of our own hands properly within their bonds. Another fifty years should show us the way. We are now devising palliatives to minimize the evils of machine civilization, and many kinds of protection. Much of the welfare work and social legislation is of this order. Society is now on the defensive against the momentum of standardization.

Even when there is no intention toward vicious standardization, the result may come to pass by means of the executive order and the routining of clerks. (Page 29.) By these insidious piecemeal processes the will of the people may be subverted, and that may

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be accomplished by indirection which is not allowable by direction.

We are likely to look too far away for the mainsprings of democratic society. Democracy rests on you and on me, and not on the man who holds office. This demands the highest personal development of every citizen, of every age and in every range. It means popular education. In particular does it mean vivid education in the rural range, which lies so close to the foundations; and this agricultural education shall be not alone technical but socially informative and constructive.

Education should produce positive citizens. One of the dead-weights of democracy is the negative man, who has no convictions, or if he has them, who is unwilling to uncover them. The most dangerous selfishness is the selfishness of knowledge. And yet the technical institutions tend to produce such men, — those who acquire knowledge, perhaps at public expense, and then sit on it. This is just as deplorable as the habit of the commercial man who accumulates gain and then pockets it. Education should produce radiating personalities.

The best application of science, or of any education, is in the person of the man or woman, rather than in invention or in profits or in commodities.

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Even all technical and professional education must be possessed of this spirit if democracy is to be the goal of mankind.

The stage on which democracy is set is the world; it can be nothing less. If democracy is the freedom of the individual to himself and his desire that others have like opportunities, he cannot put a geographical limit to its operation. It springs up in homes and communities as water comes out of the ground, and extends itself to the performance of provinces, states and nations; and the relation between nations becomes as democratic as the relation between persons. When nations fight each other, it is proof that one or both of them is anti-democratic. The great burden of democracy is the overhead, the upper-crust, the lid. Were there no repressions, but only wholesome discipline and education, the world of civilized men would be a vast democracy, as nature is a democracy. The clearest prophecy of the present War is expressed in Woodrow Wilson's noble phrase, "to make the world safe for democracy."

Democracy eliminates the whole tribe of courtiers, sycophants, flatterers, favorites, parasites and time-servers that hang about a dominating government and manipulate the strings that keep themselves in place and hold the people in leash. It repudiates that doc-

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trine of State Efficiency,— become almost a religion in these days,— which makes the people effective in order that the cabal of managers, dictators and man-drivers may be powerful and secure.

It is the final discipliner of despots, overlords, and self-erected divinities.

I started this book with a citation of Germany. I come back to that illustration of my subject, although I cannot spend much time or space on it. The recent "treaty" between Emperor William and Emperor Karl makes the following pledges, as the document has been published in North America: "His High Majesty the German Emperor and King of Prussia on the one hand, and his High Apostolic Majesty the Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary on the other, form a close military alliance for twenty-five years, during which both parties to the alliance pledge themselves to employ the entire strength of their peoples for military purposes. The allied nations of Germany and Austria-Hungary shall devote all their care to have their armies enter into eventual future conflict fully prepared and at the maximum of their strength. Only thus a future war shall be of brief duration, for had the armies of both allies been in this condition in 1914 this war would have long ago ended. . . . All preparations for

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future wars shall be made in common understanding between the General Staffs."

When two men can enter into a conspiracy to commit millions of people (their "subjects") to plans for future wars, it is travesty to talk about democracy. And the inquiry of Professor Förster of Munich, whose rare ethical writings have attracted so much attention internationally, needs no answer when he asks: "But must America really continue this war in order to obtain the recognition and accomplishment of its world-program? Haven't the resolution of the majority of the Reichstag and the answer of the Central Powers to the Pope demonstrated our entire willingness to work with them for the accomplishment of their plans for the future? What is there more that we can do?"

Herein lies the major example of the burdens that democracy now carries. When these particular rulers have failed, these menaces, in one guise or another, will still persist in the world.

If it be asked how one is to determine whether a given State or nation is democratic, let the first test be this: Who are its masters?

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4. Certain Main Considerations

If the reader has followed the discussion thus far, he is well advised of the democratic principle, for he has undoubtedly challenged many of the contrasts, he has visioned for himself certain lines of necessary public action, and has made his own catalogue of hindrances, if we are to have democracies worth saving. Yet must I call attention to certain fundamental ideas, which may be set out by themselves, although they are all implied or even stated in what has gone before. I mention only a plain dozen of them.

A few clear principles must be comprehended, and action must be based on them rather than on the accumulation of precedents. It is often necessary to sweep away the impedimenta of precedents, one practice having piled on another until the principle is forgotten. War knocks over these piles of usages, if it is severe enough and of long duration, for persons and institutions must then return to the few essentials. With certain timid types of minds, nothing is allowable to be done unless it has been done before; and once having been done, it should never be changed: thus is all hope hidden and progress made impossible. It is unfortunate that so many of these

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routiners find their way into public responsibilities. Herein lies the need of clear thinkers, who are able to detach themselves from the tumult and gain of the day and to arrive at the indispensable actions. The world has many such thinkers, but because they are detached they are likely to be disregarded.

Always must we be on guard against the machinery of government. This machinery becomes so perfect and smooth-working as to demand little energy. It runs the men, and many little monarchies are set up in a democracy. Sometimes for years no personality stands out as master of the machinery, although there may be many trustworthy engineers. When a man walks into power who overturns dead customs and brushes aside hindering precedents, he becomes a public hero. He prepares the way for good coherent policies, and shows the people that they are not to rely on easy methods.

1. We assume that democracy everywhere incorporates right and justice: this is axiomatic. Yet right and justice are not sufficient and do not constitute the foundation of democratic society: this foundation is mercy and brotherhood.

In our formal international relations we have not yet arrived even at the basis of right and justice. Peace treaties are bargains. We must pass far beyond the accustomed peace treaties before we can

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approach a democratic understanding between the peoples of the earth. These treaties are often wicked. They continue to keep the people in armed camps. It is only when mankind has arrived at such a degree of civilization that differences are discussed calmly on their merits that beginnings can be made in democratic settlements. This means the elimination of dynastic and sovereignty interests. We hope for a new kind of settlement in the present War, based not on the customary peace deals but on justice to the peoples; then is the way prepared for the real cooperations of brotherhood.

It is not the purpose of this writing, however, to discuss international questions, but only the essentials of democracy, for if a people cannot be democratic within itself it cannot be democratic in its external relations; the international reference is only by way of illustration.

2. The most important element in organized democracy, then, is its motivization, not its laws or its constitutions, its institutions or even its customs. As a people wills, so does it act, in the long run; and its will depends on the motives that actuate the individuals. If the citizens think mainly in terms of gain and of conquest, expressed in power and victory over opponents, democracy is impossible no matter what the social institutions or the forms of govern-

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ment. If the motives are those of ambitious and unscrupulous rulers, accepted slavishly by the people, the case is even far worse. If the public temper is to hold worshipfully to the past, or even to keep things as they are, to maintain old castes and stratifications, then is there little growth and therefore little democracy. On the other hand, if the people are motived by the desire for self-improvement and of helpfulness to others, and are willing to break the bonds, democracy cannot be suppressed, whatever the social and governmental forms. The stress seems yet to be placed on the forms of democracy rather than on its essence.

3. The institutions of society and of government are to be founded on good will and cooperation, not on domination. A democracy is never a dominion of fear.

There is no relation of master and servant: all nations, all organs of nations, all groups, all organizations, are servants, when there is democracy.

Neither is a democracy a dominion of trade. Hitherto the conquest of the world has been religious and political. A commercial conquest is no safer nor any more to be desired. The War is likely to quicken the commercial instincts. It is possible to have a new autocracy, worse than any we have yet known.

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As commercialism makes much of the world's politics, so should we proceed with caution in developing the desirable league of nations, lest we enter into a new bondage and obscure the element of brotherhood.

4. Democracy is based on individualism, not on collectivism. If the people in a democracy think with one mind, it is because they have arrived, each person for himself, at a few essentials. Persons may be much alike in their spontaneous public action and yet be widely different as individuals. If men and women are free moral agents, then their excellence depends largely on their own personal expressions. Every person is entitled to his liberty of opinion and his freedom of action so long as he does not hinder or offend his fellows. Public action means little if it is a routine collectivism; it needs the enthusiasm of individual conviction. The general level of democratic activity is the sum of individual superiorities.

The extent and character of the individualism depend on the fundamental spiritual philosophy of a people. The Hebrew scripture is the account of the acts of individuals, called by name. The long genealogies are significant to us because they are the names of persons, not of classes or of abstractions. Patriarchy is Abraham. Prophecy is Isaiah. Psalmody is David. Wisdom is Solomon. Religion

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is Christ. Christianity is the acme of personality: the individual soul is saved, whole and sound.

5. The first cooperative expression of democracy is in the home. Here the democratic spirit is crystallized. Here is the beginning of training. The very small family is related not only to the maintenance of population: it is not the best kind of school for the training of citizenship. What may be the final or future complexion of the family it is not necessary here to inquire; we cannot foresee any organization for the young in which the parent is not the best teacher. If parents are incompetent, or if the child is destined to be a dependent or if it is orphan, the child becomes a ward of society; but in this case, the institution that takes the ward is only a poor and cold substitute for father and mother and fireside. In the long run, the children of democracy should come up from their own associations. Democracy is based in homes, not in institutions. It needs the incentives, the variations, and the responsibilites of homes.

The administration of the home, like the administration of society, is to be the exercise of good will and cooperation, never a dominion of fear. It must not be Prussianized, if it is to be a seed-bed of democracy.

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6. Education in a democracy should be personal, and sufficiently variable to meet the needs of individuals. Its purpose is to train citizens to excellence and to cooperation, not to maintain a certain social order and particularly not primarily to uphold a given form of government. The Great War has shown us the vicious danger of a system of education controlled by a government. Education is not to be a tool or organ of government, as is the tariff system or an army; it is not a means of expressing the will of a government or a sovereign. Safety lies only in the opposite direction. The will lies with the people, and education should express this will and constitute a check on government, controlling it. It is the privilege of democracy to discipline the government.

Speaking for the United States, the country has been fortunate in having State and local systems of education, not a national system. Undoubtedly something has been lost in regularity, and possibly in efficiency, but uniformity is the result to be avoided, and efficiency, as the word is commonly used, is not of the spirit. A system may be so efficient as to be lifeless. Even the defects in localities now and then are less cause for alarm than a centralized national control; it is in the remedying of defects that the people acquire some of their best training in democ-

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racy: this privilege should never be taken away from them.

A gentle stimulus from the national center is undoubtedly useful, but it is to be remembered that education is not government: confusion in these functions is fatal to democracy.

Coordination of activities in the States and localities may be desirable, if the freedom of self-determination is clearly maintained. Perhaps the most hopeful national action in education in the United States is to serve as a check on the autocracy of the educational establishments of the States. But a national policy that should exercise any extended and internal control over education in the States and localities should be looked on with the gravest apprehension. Once I favored the establishing of a national department of education, with a secretary in the cabinet of the President; but in the face of the vast autocracy we are fighting, with its educational system bent to its purpose, I do not dare now to advise it. The greatest lesson of the War is the danger that lies in an educational system used for the purposes and ambitions of government, making it a means to an end.

Perhaps the will to democracy is sufficiently strong in the United States to safeguard the results of a centralized national system, and of course we could

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not expect a Prussian result since we have neither the class stratification or the political intention; but there is every reason to fear the gradual extension of arbitrary domination, even under the best intentions, and the discouragement of that free spirit without which any education is vain. A national system is not needed. Even with every safeguard attached to it in the beginning, the tendencies would undoubtedly be autocratic.

Undoubtedly, rather close conformity should come about in the educational theory and practises of the different States, although methods of administration may well be rather diverse. This conformity is in fact developing, and probably rapidly enough for the best results. Coöperation in some kinds of activities may be better developed by the natural process of self-discovery than by the enactment of law or the founding of a formal unifying agency. We may expect great extension of educational activity after the War. We should be specially careful that the dominating ideas of a military period do not control it.

The technical studies will gain new impetus after the War, leading to the dominations by organization and trade. Special care should be taken to counteract these tendencies by renewed insistence on the traditional and classical subjects, which are the studies of reflection and detachment. The charge most frequently hurled against these subjects is that they are

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"impractical": let the defenders of them accept the accusation, and stand on the fact that being unattached they are also unconstrained. They are examples in democracy. There is peculiar support for intellectual liberty not only in the study of history but in the nature of the literary subjects themselves: these subjects recognize the outstanding personalities; they do not tie their students to the despotisms of affairs. We need the classical studies for safety.

7. The military method is not the method of democracy. This follows from the facts that the military way is *par excellence* the method of domination, and that its leaders cannot be chosen by the people as their representatives. In time of great emergency, the military domination may represent the will of the people, but in normal times it does not and cannot express this will. The people, the populace, is normally unmilitary; a ruling caste or class is normally military, because it is undemocratic: the military motives are always imposed on the people.

There are those who would maintain a military disposition in a democracy, for its element of service. This service is good; but "we should find a way to carry these habits and good results into other kinds of service. . . . I look on military preparedness as the beginning in a process."— Universal Service, pp. 111, 102. It is the responsibility of governments,

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now as never before, to find ways of service that are democratic, that is, that are not military. It is a specious but false philosophy that would maintain an artificial and domineering system in order that persons may find ways to express themselves in the public welfare.

We must expect the military flavor to last long after the War. The military and so-called patriotic societies will keep the spirit alive. So long as the soldiers live, they will come together to renew their associations. Here is, indeed, a great opportunity: may we not hope that public sentiment will demand of these societies a consecration to real public service rather than merely to keeping alive the martial spirit?

The mental aims for which the War is prosecuted will have much to do with the maintenance of the martial spirit. When in war, a country must employ the methods of war; in the present conflict, the United States must use every ounce of its energy, if need be; the termination must be decisive, but the decision is for democracy, not to crush a people, to dismember, to annihilate, unless we must go that far to overthrow a vicious system and to allow the growth of righteous neighborliness. International crime must be punished, as much as domestic crime; yet we must be aware that lingering hatreds and continuing established boycotts prevent the very democracy for which we fight. Is it not our privilege

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to aid in bringing Germany into a whole-hearted democratic association? Are we not fighting for the salvation of Germany as well as of ourselves? Would we not rejoice in a real democratic Germany?

The menace in a military establishment lies not in its size, its complete organization, or its power, but in its control of the political and social system.

As militarism aims directly at the destruction of men and their works, so is it the greatest enemy of mankind. As its aim is to benefit the conqueror at the expense of the conquered, so is it the acme of selfishness.

The War is shattering the ancient conception that an armed society is necessary to protect from emergencies: there is every hope that it cannot protect Germany; the way in which unarmed countries have thrown themselves into the conflict disposes of the old theory, founded on the fear of dynasties. Be it known that I am not opposed to a military department in a democracy. "Militarism is much more than a good army and navy. . . . I am convinced that military preparedness of some kind is indeed a necessity in the present state of society, that it is, in fact, a rather truthful expression of that plane of morals to which we have now attained."— Universal Service, pp. 113, 108. The military department is part of our insurance for the time being; this is very different, however, from the incorporation of the mili-

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tary motive into society. Sharply must we distinguish between service and militarism. Service hath one intention: militarism hath another.

In particular, must we keep the military disposition out of the schools. (Universal Service, p. 120.)

I have no fear of militarism controlling the United States, but I am solicitous lest the effect of military example involve the civic and educational life of the people. It is not alone the direct military control that is to be feared, but the tendency of government to hold fast the special civil powers granted in an emergency. These powers should be quickly returned to the people.

The harshness and non-sympathy of a military domination are the opposites of democracy.

War is a powerful stimulator. It releases strong educational forces. Yet if we may believe Professor Förster, the contemporaneous German teacher, it is not an essential educational force: "The Utopists of the war, who praise war as an indispensable educator, forget how superficial the educational value of war always remains — how very much it makes us dependent upon extraordinary excitements and necessities, and how fatally in reality it thus weakens our spiritual and moral initiative in the mastery of normal life. And they overlook how the disciplinarian forces of war are finally counterbalanced and overcome by disorganizing forces — for war is after all derived

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from the contrary of discipline, from uncontrolled passions and instincts."

8. We must avoid the breaking up of society into contending parts. I have sufficiently suggested this danger in foregoing paragraphs. We are likely to build governments on bipartizanships, which is the practice of taking sides. This philosophy I followed in some of its phases in the little book, Universal Service, showing it to be an expression of the Principle of Enmity. I contrasted it with the Principle of Fellow Service.

The remedy by petition must not be overlooked, in the days when we invoke the remedy by organization. The constitution of the United States provides that Congress shall make no law abridging the right of the people to petition the government for a redress of grievances. The constitution of the State of New York prohibits the passing of a law which shall abridge the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government or any department thereof. I suppose there are similar provisions in other constitutions. This right to petition is part of the common law; it has been the English practice so long that it is now accepted as fundamental and inalienable. It is a simple direct process of presenting a case with the expectation of relief, and without leaving any legacy of dangerous consequences. At

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first probably a grant by despots to individuals, it is now an established means to make known the difficulties and the needs of persons, groups and organizations.

We are in danger of forgetting this simple remedy. We are more likely to invoke mass-action, counting on the power of votes, making demands that amount to an ultimatum. We use the method of the political drive, with a tendency toward violence of opinion or at least of statement. This mass-action is quite as likely to solidify opposition as to insure consideration, and it discloses the points for counter-attacks. It breeds antagonisms rather than cooperations. The method is specially dangerous when it becomes class-action, because it solidifies one part of the population against another part; and class-interests are not democratic. It may be said that petition is not a sufficient remedy, that it does not carry enough power. If this is true, may it not be in large part the result of contra-positioning bred by mass-drives?

If we believe in democracy we must of course hold to the power of public opinion: there can be no democracy without petition. The power or sufficiency of petition lies in the strength of its case, calmly stated, not in its impetuosity. In the end, public opinion will control, even though a perfect remedy be not found. A case over-stated and enforced by menace of organized votes is in itself a weak case

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and public opinion will discount it; and every discounting of such action lessens the support of succeeding action; finally, only the number of votes is to be reckoned, and minorities lose their voice.

The petition need not be a display of signatures appended to a set of resolutions. It may be a plain statement of conditions, supported by facts and evidence, together with constructive suggestions. It may be the result of the deliberation of an association or of a neighborhood company; it may be the joint action of a few individuals, or the act of one person. In all cases it should set forth the facts as they exist in the locality or the situation in order that the matter may be judged on its merits.

The effects of the petition are clearly three: to clarify the case in the mind of the petitioner; to inform or educate public opinion; to ask for action on the part of government or other agency.

The petition, as any other act, is to be safeguarded. It should not be managed or forced by agitators or by special interests that seek their own gains: then it is not petition. We have become so accustomed to allowing others to make our solicitations for us that the simple petition of persons and communities is in danger of falling into disuse. Thereby do we substitute what we call "influence" for the will of the people.

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9. Democracies are not established on the nineteenth-century dogma of the struggle for existence. The current construction of the struggle is to excuse selfishness. It is said that the German interpretation of the struggle for existence is at the bottom of the present world-anguish, but I cannot think that its philosophers have so far misread their biology; it is more probable that the interpretation has been invoked, perhaps unconsciously, as a cover or justification of a racial trait or program. I have elsewhere (The Holy Earth, 80–89) discussed the struggle for existence in its relation to human affairs, and have tried to point out our mis-interpretation of it in biology. It is sufficient here to say that there is no war in nature. The combats are mostly between individuals, and the outcome is adaptation. The struggle of the tiger is for himself, not to preserve the race of tigers. The contests are for food; for mates; for protection of self and young. They are not to conquer territory, or to annihilate a species, or to overrun the earth in an orgy of loot. "If one looks for a moral significance in the struggle for existence, one finds it in the fact that it is a process of adjustment rather than a contest in ambition."—The Holy Earth, page 78.

Biology has indeed been neglected as an interpreter of human action; we shall rely on it more securely in time to come; but we must be extra cautious not to misread it, for most persons do not see its bearings.

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10. We are to avoid the mechanistic standardization of society, that we may allow individualism its proper maturity. Democracy cannot be maintained on the mental habits of quantity-production.

The domination of commercial methods is to be avoided. There is to be a clear separation between public management and private business; this is not so much that malfeasance and abuses may be avoided as that the experience of personal business is not the best training for democratic public work. This is contrary to the attitude of the public mind in the commercial epoch of the present. Of course I am thinking of more far-reaching ranges of public activity than the vast quantity-production that requires such superior business ability in war time. I am also well aware of the inestimable services rendered by many business men in great public positions, and not all businesses are alike in training power. The business or commercial man may have many qualifications independently of his business training.

I am not much given to the demand that we fill the great responsibilities with business men. We live in a commercial civilization, but not the programs nor even the methods of business are necessary superlative. For public work we need much more than so-called business ability. We need broad views on public questions, outlook into future results, passion for public service. The activity of accumulation, which

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is the guiding principle in business, is not the motive of public service. I have noticed in good business men a singular lack of judgment on large public policies, and a short reach in dealing with many of the elementary principles controlling economic and social questions. I have come to feel that I want the outside view. The business man is trained in judging men and situations as they affect him. Personally he may be wholly unselfish, but his habitual attitude is likely to unfit him for administrative duties affecting great complexities of welfare interests. We make a major mistake when we assume that business men are by their experience better qualified than all others in executive ability.

The student of affairs, as contrasted with the business man, is impugned as "theoretical." His theory, however, is within definite limits and bounds, because he is a student of theory and knows its laws. When the "practical business man" goes into theory he is prone to out-theorize the pale theorist, because his imagination is untrained and untested. Some of the most fantastic schemes arise from these sources; specially are they noticeable in the range of rural affairs.

11. We are to develop the community spirit. This is more than a regard for the welfare of the neighbor: it is regard for the neighborhood. The welfare work

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of many kinds now runs strongly in this course. It is not sufficient to relieve the distress and to meet the wants of the individual. It conceives of a group of common interests, working together as a kind of a small nation, having the best relations also with every other nation.

We must take care, however, to distinguish between community-welfare and organization-welfare.

12. The philosophy of the Perfect State is the antithesis of democracy. It rests in the idea of finality. Its language and its paraphernalia have the expression of completeness and perfection. It is always the creature of the few; it may be absolute tyranny, or an autocratic benevolence. It may be brutal. The idea is medieval. Democracy is the process of evolution; it is always relative; it is forever in the making. It comes up; the other is handed down.

Democracy is unhindered of tradition. It is escape from medievalism. It looks to the past for lessons, yet is always ready to break with the past. It never grows old.

Democracy is the result of growth. The Perfect State is born full grown; it has no proper childhood.

The Perfect State, by virtue of being Perfect, is unmoral. It may commit crimes of vast enormity. The people, as distinguished from the State, may also commit crimes, but mostly because they are swept

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off their feet in moments of great passion, not by premeditation.

The most hateful element in the Perfect State philosophy is the assumption of Divine Right. It sounds strangely out of harmony in an age supposed to be dominated by reason more than by superstition and hero-worship. Of course there is no democracy under any implication that a government is a dispensation from above. Yet there is a divinity in democracy. Every person in a full-born democracy must be an investigator on his own account, endeavoring to apprehend and to sort his facts and to draw straight conclusions. Thereby does he acquire the divine right to rule, founded on his ability to rule himself. The most pathetic figure in the world is an emperor rushing from front to front of his army with his blasphemy and bombast. It is dangerous to trust so much divinity to one man, and particularly to one who may exhibit none of the humility of a divine mission. We can vision no highly developed social state that does not light the divine fire in every soul.

The concept of the Perfect Plan obtrudes itself in all societies and in all forms of government. It is a lesser expression of the idea of the Perfect State. It works well in the industrial subjects; they lend themselves to formulation. One can diagram them, and the graphs are most useful and convincing. Engineering lends itself well to this form of expression,

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as also chemistry and other branches of the natural sciences. The paper-plan does not so well express the biological sciences, in which the elements of variability are pronounced. The social sciences are biological; yet we are tempted to formulate phases of them as if they were pieces of construction or problems in mathematics. I have often noted the tendency of engineers to make paper-plans for farming and rural affairs. The interpretation of biology cannot be a formulary, nor can it be official.

The Perfect Paper-plan has taken an interesting form in the United States in recent years in the "projects" for agriculture and education, made and approved in offices. One would think we are coming to an office-farming, as we have already come to an office-education. In one form or another, the project-idea is so stuck in our minds that we seem to be unable to see around it. So is it difficult to develop in certain observers a view of agriculture from the earth rather than from the office and the workshop; yet democracy comes out of the earth: the living creation in a state of nature is a vast democracy.

The Paper Project runs toward the unifying, standardizing and formalizing of all affairs, and the pressing out of the variations that make men to be men rather than copyists and that put into life the personality which makes it worth the living. It runs through civic and even social affairs. It is a process

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of mechanical routine-making. It invades legislation. One of the worst manifestations is that type of appropriation-legislation which budgets the sums in such a way as to leave no discretion with the administration of an institution, not allowing sufficient flexibility for emergencies, and centering the control of details in a political office that in the nature of the case cannot know the subject or the requirements. Its justification is to eliminate waste and to prevent abuse. Yet the overhead expense of the supervision will probably exceed any loss accruing from dishonesty or incompetency; and this type of legislation is itself a greater abuse than the deficiencies it seeks to correct. It deadens initiative and lessens responsibility. It takes the work from the hands of experts at the very epoch when we are training these experts and trying to rely on them. It opens the way for political control by the very simple method of not allowing or of vetoing specific items. It centralizes work that is profited by the decentralization. It is a powerful impersonal and anti-democratic drift.

So is much of the project-practice in agriculture an anti-democratic drift. I know very well the effort everywhere to keep it democratic: this is evidence of its danger. I know no reason why projects of rural community work in New York and California should be approved by the Secretary of Agriculture. If it be said that this approval insures uniformity, then I

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reply that uniformity is the very thing we do not want. There is no merit in uniformity. If it be said it is necessary because Congress appropriates the funds, then I reply that the funds belong to the people and not to Congress, and that it is the responsibility of Congress to devise a better method of oversight. The practice is not necessary for the safeguarding of the funds, nor to make the work effective: official approval (by a clerk) is not essential to honest and productive work in the open field. If it be urged that the federal control of local problems is really only nominal, still must I insist that the system itself is unnecessary and unwholesome. I hold strongly to the idea of centralization in forms of national business; but even this is safe in a democracy only when other ranges are freely decentralized. Education, research, is not the fulfillment of regulatory law, the furtherance of interstate commerce, or the exercise of police power. The sanctions for efforts of this kind should not be centered at official headquarters, out of the reach of those who are to be benefitted; it is not the kind of work that is nationally governmental in character.

I have cited these expressions of the Paper Project because they exhibit what the standardizing process means. They and others of their like will have vast effect on our thinking and our methods in time to come. They all rest on the idea of the perfect scheme,

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devised by superior intelligence, and controlled arbitrarily as a matter of form. They do not allow of the free play of local needs and personal variations, on which democracy, as distinguished from government, must rest.

Given the formalizing tendencies of officialdom and acceptance of the economic standard as the measure of human affairs, and we may expect deeply erroneous estimates of the place and value of those enterprises conditioned on the earth and expressing themselves naturally in terms of life rather than in terms of figures and projects.

One commonly hears that democracy is too imperfect to be efficient and that reforms can be brought about only if they are forced on the masses by superior intelligence. Yet, in fact, the hope of democracy is its imperfection. The masses should understand the imperfections. Any hiding of the deficiencies and shortcomings only hinders progress. It is the strong man who is patient under criticism. It is a strong State that can stand the exposure of its weaknesses. We shall be reinforced if we conceive of democracy as a process, not as a fulfillment.

"The justification of a democratic form of government lies in the fact that it is a means of education." — The Holy Earth, p. 146.

If agriculture, labor and education can be kept democratic, the basis of the State is secure.

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5. The Bottom Rung

Democracy is an upward and onward movement, deriving its force from the cooperation of individual souls. It is the ladder of civilization, whereby men express themselves in their own names. The ladder rests on the ground.

On the planet we live. From the earth we come; to the earth we return. Our relations to the earth determine not only our sustenance but our institutions. The land is the seed-bed of society. As we provide to mankind access to the earth, so do we cast the fashion of civilization.

Many persons speak for other elements in society. I consider it my obligation to speak particularly of the farmer and the rural phase.

I have said that democracy rests on the conditions of daily living. Our situations are primarily those of the planet on which we subsist. The care of the planet conditions our subsistence. Many persons and classes of persons are directly delegated to the care of the planet, but there is practically only one range of people that lives day by day in actual contact of subsistence with the earth. This range is the farmer.

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I shall not gain popular sympathy when I say that the farmer is the fundamental fact in democracy, yet I must speak the truth. He is the fundamental fact not merely because he produces supplies, but because to him is delegated the keepership of the earth, and to him are we to look for the interpretation of the earth in our civic relations. This is a deeper and much more fundamental relationship than the contribution of any extent of organization, however perfect in its constitution, which is concerned primarily with class interests.

Just now we hear much about the farmer's attitude toward the great affairs confronting us. There is considerable criticism. All the criticisms I have heard are projected from the point of view of class organization or industrial organization, or essentially urban bias. Yet the farmer must be judged by the place he occupies. Let me give a formula:

The farmer is part of his environment, matching himself into his background, perhaps unconsciously, much as a bird is matched, or a tree, or a quadruped. His plan of operation, his farm-management, is an expression of his situation in nature; he has worked it out because it fits. He cannot shift it radically to meet the advice of any other person. As he himself develops in ability, he will modify his plan of operation so far as he can, but the plan always must fit his

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place in the environment; no great change is possible unless his natural conditions change; he does not make his conditions. The farmer exemplifies, in the human range, what the naturalist knows as "adaptation." His situation does not admit of compromise, and therefore it may not be understood by teachers, publicists, officials, and others.

The consequences of this formula, if it is sound, are tremendous. All the advice given the farmer that does not recognize his necessary adaptation to his environment is useless; and useless advice is harmful. It is of no advantage to rail against the farmer any more than against the wind or the rain It is idle to try to apply to him the pressures that are exerted on corporate business. It is of small consequence either to praise him or to condemn, to take sides for him or against him, except so far as it may affect his spirit as a man. When, under pressure of great crises, we radically change the conditions under which the farmer works, we must allow him time to readjust himself: he must take account of the latitude that he may reasonably expect in weather and soil and human forces. He needs not favors, but conditions that will allow him to operate. The natural conditions within which he works cannot be changed, but they can be modified in some ways and he can make new adjustments within certain limits: these possibilities he

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begins to understand, and they are parts of his problem as a farmer; when the economic or outside conditions are changed, the modifications must be such as will match the natural limitations, if he is expected to adopt them. In the present crisis, the public agencies must understand and recognize what reasonably can be required of the farmer.

It will be understood that I am not defending the farmer: his acts are as much open to review as those of any other citizen: I am stating his natural situation.

It is an old adage that appearances are deceitful. I wish to add that they may be misleading. Persons managing corporate, industrial, labor, and professional affairs have a certain air and habit of presentation. The farmer operating his farm may not have this air. He does not advertize. He is not thinking of publicity. He may be following a plow in the back lot, unshaven, trousers in his boots, working until the work is done even though the clock points to five. Perhaps he would not discuss politics or civics or religion, at least not until he knew you; but, good or bad, he has worked out the management of his farm, and he thinks he knows why. He will listen to your advice; then he will go on with his plowing. He is hard against facts, real facts, not paper facts;

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he accepts them, and acts accordingly. You may not like him, but he himself is a fact.

When the farmer is a free land-owner and is not a peasant, he resists the standardizing processes. We must be careful not to teach him to rely overmuch on organization and on colleges, for we need the example of those who do not lean against supports.

Bearing in mind these fundamental considerations, established in the nature of things, some of the popular attitudes toward the farmer become ridiculous. I was out of the country when war was proclaimed, but I understand that everybody who had a public voice fell to advising the farmer. This is futile, since the farmer is the one part in the population that cannot apply advice of this kind. I am sure that much of this advice made no account of situations that neither the farmer nor any one else can change.

It is simple enough to change an outside or commercial condition in relation to the farming occupation; it is quite another matter to expect the farmer to accept it unless other essential conditions are changed to meet it. Fixing the price of any product, while it may be necessary in times of crises, does not add fertility to the land, or modify the weather, or affect the habits of a sheep or a horse, or the requirements of a herd of swine. To say that a billion dollars is to be added to the income of farmers by war

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prices means nothing unless we have at the same time a statement of outgo. To say that the increased gross value of farm products of 1917 over 1914, in the United States, represents war profits is to state only one factor in a transaction and to state it loosely. To advise the use of less milk in order to save it does not take the cow into consideration; the cow can not be stopped by turning off the steam and discharging the operator.

To establish any regulation touching production only on a basis of compromise or agreement between contending parties, does not take into consideration the fundamental problems on which the regulation must rest for its operation. This is well expressed in Warren's recent statement, following a long hearing on the cost of milk, that there is no known way of making a cow produce milk by argument.

The political method, which is the method of compromise or expediency, cannot change a single fundamental fact in farming.

One of the most amusing statements I have heard is that reported of an influential financier to the effect that we must now take the farmer in hand and control him. The idea is that the farmer is becoming too powerful and makes too many demands. For the last ten years and more, public men have been advising the farmers to organize for protection, and the

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farming people have been shown the results won by organized labor and industry; yet as soon as the farmer begins to use this dangerous weapon, a shout of alarm goes up from those who have advised it. If the farmer anywhere uses the weapon of organization he only follows the precedent of industry and commerce. This is to say that the weapons of industry and commerce are then turned against themselves. The present mood to discipline the farmer is but another expression of the old disposition — so old as to be automatic — that the farmer must be kept where he belongs.

Organization for commercial offense, and to some extent even for defense, is indeed a dangerous weapon. It is dangerous in itself; it is dangerous because it forces government into compromises, and also because it relieves government of its plain obligations; it is dangerous because it sets one part of society against another.

In agriculture, organization for offense is especially dangerous: it has here all the danger it has in any other realm, and, besides, it cannot change a single natural condition. I have hoped that the correctives of such commercial inequalities as may exist in rural affairs would arise in the action of society as a whole, that legislatures and statesmen on their own motion would apply the remedies, without pres-

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sure and therefore without compromise. I have been willing to wait, remembering that we are trying to develop a democracy and hoping that we may eliminate the antagonisms of differing interests. I have preferred even that the rural interests should undergo disadvantages rather than that we should throw agriculture into the maelstrom. If such organization is necessary to perform the office that society neglects to perform, I hope it will not become a permanent movement to control affairs in the separate interest of the farmer and I trust it will not be political; yet one must express sympathy for the objects for which certain powerful organized movements are now contending.

Agriculture may not have received the support it should have had, but it has not had organized opposition. As soon as it begins to make collective demands, so soon will all other interests begin to oppose it. The results on our democracy may be dangerous and far-reaching.

I bear testimony that organization, of farmers or others, is necessary to mutual improvement, to popular education, and to effective public action; by all means it must be stimulated. Yet I must point out the dangers in those kinds of organized effort that seek to gain their ends by force of numbers, by compulsion, and by strategy. I trust that we shall avoid class legislation for farmers.

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The incompetency of organization to accomplish in agriculture what it has been able to accomplish elsewhere may be illustrated in the field of labor. Farm labor cannot be organized on the basis of other labor, nor can the same ideas dominate it: on the farm there is a natural day; the plants and animals are governed by this day; at any time the weather may change the whole situation; the old cow will not recognize the eight-hour day. Much of the hired labor is also capitalistic, for the owner and his family are the operative organization. Hired labor is relatively a minor part of all the labor; it is, or should be, resident labor except such excess as may be needed in certain special seasons. Much of the hired labor is in the process of acquiring ownership. The mass-movements of organized labor cannot apply to the rural situation; or if they are forced into the rural districts, the farmer will simply hire less labor and set his business more completely into nature-farming.

Another element in the length of the day needs always to be taken into consideration: it is the hopeful or spiritual interest of a man in his work. To work over a machine hour by hour is a long process; there is always the satisfaction of good workmanship, as in any other labor, but there is little element of hope in it or of personality. The routine is the same day after day, month after month. Holidays and welfare enterprises there may be, but they are always pro-

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jected against the long monotony of shop and machine. The workman's work is mostly for another. The products are not his. It is no wonder that hours are counted, and that the attitude of mind is to welcome the time of closing. Farm labor is of a radically different breed. Most of it is the labor of owners or renters; they work for themselves. The products are theirs. Every hour is a different hour. The conditions of open weather make it different. There is hope in the planting of seed and the tilling of the crop that extends into the harvest and to the marketing of the produce. The prospect does not terminate with the day. The attitude of mind is to complete the work, not to quit. Now we are adding the interest of science to this labor, so that every part of the occupation requires its study and its planning, and consequently is capable of yielding its intellectual reward. The tendency is to compare industrial shop work with farm work: they should rather be contrasted.

Nor is the farmer's situation peculiar only in relation to nature, to land, and to labor. It is singular in its corporate sense: the farmer produces the world's supplies by his individual efforts (this necessarily makes him an individualist); the supplies are sold by the collective enterprises of society. He deals with the earth open-handed; he deals with commerce with

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his hands tied. Collective production has not been successful on any important scale; probably it can never be so organized as a whole. The producer is therefore at a disadvantage in the world's affairs. It is for this reason that society must provide special safeguards. The ordinary philosophy of unrestrained competition as the regulator and prophylactic of society does not reach the farmers' essential situation. We need a different order.

This brings us to a statement of the two theories, or at least the two practices, as to the place of agriculture in society. On the one basis, the farmer comprises a substratum of human beings whose necessity it is to provide subsistence for higher strata from which are to come the teachers, leaders, artists, seers. On the other basis, the farm class itself is a lateral and cooperating factor in affairs, capable of producing teachers, leaders, artists, seers, a class coordinate rather than subordinate, directly related to civic needs: this is the American idea. The reader will agree that we cannot have a democracy on the former basis, which is the theory of the subordinate or peasant class. He will now better understand why the farmer is the fundamental fact in a democracy (page 96).

On the one basis rests autocracy, aristocracy, oligarchy, arrogancy, tyranny, stratified social systems,

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whatever the name of the government. On the other basis rests the possibility of democratic institutions. The farmer should have equal privileges with any other man to develop himself and to partake in all affairs, not to be merely a mudsill on which a superstructure may rest.

Democracy rests on the land, on such a division of it and such an ease of acquiring it and such freedom of establishing new ownerships and combinations, as will allow the farmer to buy and to sell it in his own name, and assure him the economic and civic freedom to make the most of himself as a man. This is equivalent to saying that the man is more important than the crop.

While democracy rests on the land, it does not rest on landlordism: quite the contrary. There is no aristocracy so hateful and so difficult to dislodge as the aristocracy of land. Landlordism is not agriculture; the agrarian questions in the different countries are not agricultural questions. However free a people may be politically, however democratic in its feeling, if a large part of the land is held by a relatively few families and beyond the reach of others, that people cannot be a complete democracy.

The world-troubles of the present rest very largely, and in fact mostly, on the iniquities of land confiscations and territorial expansion. The world is trying

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at this moment to wrest from Germany — I hope for Germany's good — the usurpations of feudalism and to give back to the people some of the powers and initiatives to which we suppose all people were born. Had there been no territory to loot and to conquer, the War would have been impossible.

Democracy cannot thrive in a society of deep-seated antagonisms. In our generation, the outstanding antagonism is between capital and labor. This is the result of great industrial development, succeeding the old rural stage. There is strong indication of a new drift of antagonism, that between the consumer and the producer. This schism will surely arise if the consumer attempts to regulate the affairs of the producer, and if society holds the farmer to be responsible for high prices and for food-riots in the cities. The remedy for food troubles lies with society as expressed in government. We must outgrow the comfortable theory that in time of hardship we are to take toll out of the last man. Let us resolve that the War shall leave us no legacy of an agrarian problem. There can be no democracy in the presence of major agrarian separations, whether they are primarily political or economic; and everyone is aware that agrarian social castes prevent even an approach to democratic solidarity.

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Of course the farmer is under obligation to society to produce the supplies and to keep the earth. His keepership of the earth involves the maintenance and even the increase of fertility. This responsibility he must be made to understand by every means of education and every resource of science. Yet this maintenance depends directly on the income of the business itself. The food and clothing supplies must come out of the earth; and yet the earth must be made richer for the production of still more supplies. We cannot think of using up fertility as we use up coal and iron. Farming is the only great occupation that increases its fundamental resources by using them.

The land is the final security.

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6. The Demand for Cheap Food

The past generation has been known by its attention to the standards of living. We recognize that there can be neither democracy or effectiveness without sufficient income to enable the citizen to acquire the essential goods of life. The tenement system has been overturned. The sweat-shop is being abandoned. Slavish piece-work has been practically outlawed. Child labor has been made illegal. The wage-earner has been released from his old subjugation. We are standardizing the wage, the length of the day's work, the conditions under which labor is performed. These conditions are the concern of every one of us, as a part in the universal problem of betterment.

The justification of all this effort lies in the human result. We are willing to pay more for pig-iron, for shoes, for furniture, for books, for transportation, if only the fair standards of living can be maintained. No one raises a voice for cheaper workshop commodities for the benefit of the consumer and at the expense of the worker. Yet the public still thinks in terms of cheap food.

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Organization of labor tends to force wages up and food prices down.

We go even farther than this with the workshop products. By every means we endeavor to eliminate the risks of workers. The compensation laws, and various insurance plans, are of this order. We recognize that society cannot be stabilized unless the workingman is protected and his personal hazards reduced to the minimum. Yet the farm people, far outnumbering the factorymen and producing the fundamental supplies, work always and necessarily against the hazards of nature and carry the risks imposed by the Almighty. These risks cannot be averted; but society must carry the insurance.

Bear in mind that I am making no demands for the farmer, nor do I wish him to think he has a grievance. I trust he will not think of himself as a class apart, but as a man among men. I do not ask for increased prices for his produce. I am trying to appraise a situation.

The demand for cheap food is fallacious. Pressing down the cost of food has one or all of three results on the producers of it (and its effect on the producers is a vital concern with us as citizens of a State): We reduce the standards of living of the producers in our own country; we exploit the cheap labor and cheap lands of new and remote countries; or we live

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on the products of peasantry in other countries. These three are the same, considered in the human result. If we are glad to meet the problem of maintaining the standard of living for workingmen, we must be equally glad to maintain it for farmers. There are reasons why we should not attempt the same program for farmers as for workingmen: our problem is to be willing to pay as much for food and other farm products as is necessary for the maintenance of the standard of living on the farms.

The standard of living also involves the ability to hire labor as against the increasing competition of industrial work. It is a common remark of business men that the farmer can secure sufficient labor if he pays the going price: this is all included in the cost of food and other produce.

The United States is building great fleets. Every soul of us is glad of it and proud of the enterprise. We rejoice at every new launching. The submarines will not sink these fleets. After the War we must find water to sail them on. We are looking forward with much anticipation to the extensions of our commerce. We shall send away our manufactured products. We shall bring back the raw products, much of it in foodstuffs and hides and other agricultural supplies. Shall we be alert to see that the farming people are as well protected as are the industrial people?

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We can run no risk of lowering the standards of income on the millions of farms.

As a whole, the public appears to be careless of the standards of living on farms. We demand cheap food in the interest of the consumer. Many discussions in the press, on the platform, and in conference, might be cited as indication. I content myself for the moment with a reference to an interesting discussion of the importance of importing Chinese labor to reduce the cost of food, appearing lately in a magazine. It is representative of a class. We may lay aside the agricultural misconceptions of this and similar articles. "A million such laborers," the article says, "distributed throughout the country would so increase the food-supply and so lower the cost of the necessaries of life that the laborer who now earns $3 a day would then be able to buy for $3 more food than he can get for $5." I do not think any such result could be attained; but this is not my present point. The article assumes that "the average American does not like farming. The sons of the prosperous farmers do not take kindly to the tilling of the soil with their own hands. They prefer the excitement and the diversions and the stimulus of the life of city and town, and they leave the farm for the office and the factory. The average American laborer also finds the occupation of the city and town more con-

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genial than farm labor. . . . The same reasons that have denuded the farm of labor have denuded the household of servants." The labor goes where it is best paid and most secure. It is not controlled very much by sentiment. It would go from city to country if the inducements were sufficient. And as for servants, it is the hope of democracy that all persons may better themselves. This writer affirms that the Chinese laborers would relieve the native laborers, allowing them to find employment elsewhere. This statement of the case is its condemnation. We cannot have a democracy with two very unlike standards of living in the producing populations,— an American standard for the industrial workers and a Chinese standard for the agricultural workers.

There are those among us who still think that the farmer must be a peasant. Of course these good people are not democrats.

And now I come to the most dangerous fallacy of all,— to the notion that food production is only an economic question, and that our problem is to produce the greatest quantity at the least cost. Human success and democracy require the best development of the individual as a starting-point. The first crystallization of democracy is in the home. Without the training, free cooperation and discipline of the home there is no democracy. Farming is preeminently the

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occupation of home-making. The home is part of the farm. We speak habitually of the "farm home." The workingman does not domicile in the shop nor does the manufacturer live on the factory premises. The purchaser of a farm looks always at the residence as part in the valuation. The purchaser of a factory or a steamboat does not inquire about the residence of the owner; he may not know where the residence is; it may be in another city, or the owner may live in a flat where it is agreeable to neither the landlord or the janitor that he have a family large enough to constitute a school in democracy. No public action is justifiable that so lowers the standards of income on the farm as to lessen the fullness and the protection of the home. Verily, these homes are of the backgrounds. All the responsibility and the permanence of the occupation enter into the farm home.

The service of the farmer to society is not merely as a producer of supplies. The rural range is a type of life, and one of the great sources of citizenship. It is our nearest approach to a permanent society. It does not move itself in search of work, nor ever find itself out of employment, nor is ever closed by strikes or lockouts, not even temporarily suspended by commercial conditions. It is as much a part of the order of things as the face of nature against which it works. To measure the farmer's relation to society solely in terms of supplies or of economics is like measuring

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the weather and the soil by the rules of the counting-house. The standard of living maintained in these backgrounds is therefore an elementary consideration in the welfare of society.

We are to be convinced, therefore, that it is at least as important to maintain the plane of income in the open country as in the industrial pursuits. It is the public temper to blame the farmer himself if his standards of living or his efficiency are not high in any case, saying that he is ignorant and ambitionless. We do not say it in the same way of the industrial workers. This assumption that the fault lies with the farmer is really at the bottom of much of our legislation and is responsible for a wide extent of loose thinking. Certainly we must make better farmers. All progress rests on personal excellence. Certainly also must we not make farmers the wards of society as we seem to be doing with the workingmen and for which the workingmen themselves will suffer in the end. But we must be ready and glad to pay for food what it costs to produce it plus a good living margin.

We shall improve the occupation; yet agriculture cannot take its proper place in human society by internal improvements alone. We must have a new kind of public view on the question. The larger remedies lie with the people. The world needs a conscious rural and agricultural policy.

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It will now be asked whether the standard of living is not, in fact, sufficiently high on the farms. I am not discussing the family standard itself, but only the income without which it cannot be high enough to meet the needs of democracy. We recognize the high type of character bred by our best farms, and the generous scale of living there maintained; yet this does not release society from its part of a plain obligation. We may at once dismiss the glowing accounts of a class of popular writers, who would make us think that farmers are the best to do of our people. Nor am I specially considering the conditions of war-time. We are to remember that the farmer does not make a profit in the commercial sense. He receives a return for his labor. I know that there may be exceptions, and not all that is classed as farming is really such. The exceptions prove the rule and they can never become the rule; and some of the profits attributed to farming are the results of speculation, or the selling of fertility long stored by nature in lands only recently opened.

The fairest way we know to measure the farmer's net earning is by means of the labor-income. This is the sum left after all working or business expenses and the interest on the investment and the unpaid family labor are deducted. It represents the income the farmer receives for his labor, beyond what home supplies he may use from the farm itself, which sup-

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plies are, of course, subtracted from his potential sales. Probably for the country as a whole the labor-income will not exceed about one dollar a day. If it rises to twice this figure, the price of land begins to increase. With the general rise in the cost of living and the increasing demands on every citizen, this income is to be considered in its relations to our democracy.

We have heard much of late about profiteering on the part of the farmer; but if he profits in war-time it is by securing a greater labor-income. Real profiteering is the making of a fortune, or the process of getting rich by profits that lie beyond the earnings of the individual. There may be speculation in farm products now and then on the part of the farmer, but it is usually small in extent and very limited in its results. The farmer does not amass wealth by farming: his farm remains, to continue to produce supplies. Of course, the taking of advantage of emergencies to make unfair gains is as much to be reprehended in the farmer as in anybody else; but for the most part his gains in war-time (when they exist) are only personal and mostly negligible, and are usually little more than a fair offset for many years of insufficient reward for faithful and steady application and during which time, in years past, he has not disturbed society by strikes, by lockouts, or by playing for special class position.

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To make a living, even a good living, is one thing: to make a fortune is quite another thing.

As I am preparing these paragraphs, the morning paper brings a new back-to-the-land attraction. A crippled soldier is to be provided with ten acres of land all equipped, value $4500. He will have five head of cattle, some chickens, and a tractor that will plow, harrow, thresh, churn and do almost any sort of work necessary. He can ride the tractor, even though disabled. Nothing is said about his qualifications. The man is to make an excellent living, pay his indebtedness in ten years, then lay up his profits for his declining days. Here is an investment of $4500 which is to earn a family a living, replace the tractor, maintain fertility, and provide the upkeep, and in addition pay 10 per cent to apply on the principal; and the man is a cripple. Marvellous occupation! I wonder that any citizen can forego it.

We are justified, of course, in reducing the cost of food by such means as will not endanger the plane of living of those who produce it. We shall learn how to eliminate many of the extrinsic costs between producer and consumer. The problem of distribution has its social and civic bearings also. We must uncover the conditions of retail sales (probably we shall eventually sweep away the entire system of private

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profit in the dispensing of certain public essentials). We shall supply the farmer more knowledge of his occupation, eliminate the incompetents, stimulate helpful organization, and in other ways improve the business itself. Never shall we need to cease such efforts. How far we can apply to agriculture the so-called efficiency methods of quantity-production of the factories yet remains to be determined. We are to consider the results on the homes as well as in commodity-wealth. The copartnership and corporation plans of farming have not been successful, and there is little hope that they can succeed outside exceptional circumstances.

Many persons not on farms expect farming must lend itself to the big-business type of organization, with expert management on a large scale and intensive departmentalizing. This subject I am not to discuss here; I wish only to point out that even if it were to succeed, we could not expect to reduce the cost of food thereby. As soon as farming is industrialized, the home element is eliminated, all labor must be hired outright, the going wage must be paid, and salaried management must be met. At the same time we are facing lessened fertility. All this would at once greatly increase the costs. At present much of the effort in food-production receives no direct wage, for women and children contribute to it. Even if the farm women do not labor in the fields, the

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keeping of the farm home (which is part of the farm business) devolves on them, as well as much of the management and oversight. All the efficiency methods we could apply on the workshop plan probably would not offset the unpaid or insufficiently paid labor available under the present organization and methods. The world has had cheap food because we have not paid those who produce it and have lived on stored or original fertility.

I see no hope for cheap food, on the old basis. That basis is gone forever. No longer do we look for cheap timber or cheap paper or cheap clothing. We know that new levels have been reached. We know that new adjustments will have to be made, and that if the consumer suffers other remedies must be found than merely to force down prices. If the cost of food is too high for the consumer, the subject is of course open to investigation, but we are not to assume that a penalty is to be applied to the producer.

In the past we have been able to secure cheap food in North America in great abundance, because of the vast extent of very fertile land. We can no longer live on the easy stored riches of the soil. Much of the farmer's income goes back into the soil, to improve it. Reduction of his income means soil-robbery; this means an impoverished people. Pinching the farmer is pinching the land. For a time, perhaps, we could

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maintain ourselves by importing the produce of new lands in other parts of the world; but the day could not be far distant when we should find ourselves faced with disaster. To maintain the producing-power of its land is the first responsibility of any people in this century. No longer can we expect to live by foraging, by chance, and by skinning the earth. The race must earn its keep.

While we are feebly debating the ways of getting cheap food, we are running straight into the problem of securing food enough at any price. We cannot forever scatter over the earth and pick up our supplies. Labor is becoming mobile, agricultural labor with the rest; it goes where rewards are greatest, and this means that rural labor goes to cities and to industries; the great government-controlled industries of war-time and thereafter will hasten this movement. Democracy, for which we are fighting, will release the serfs and unchain the castes; the land may suffer. Population is increasing. The standards of living are rising. The maintenance of armies utilize great tracts of land that might produce crops. The people waste their supplies. We look to new areas of virgin land to make good our needs, but this only defers the issue and breeds incompetence in the people; it is a weakening policy.

To meet the increasing demands for plant and ani-

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mal products in this day, and specially in the time to come, requires the best skill that human ingenuity can contrive. This skill must be paid for. If we are to educate the farmer to greater effectiveness as an occupationist and to increase his training as a citizen, we must see that he is able to get the value of his education and to have the essential advantages of life. Rather than try to force down the cost of farm supplies to old levels, we must remember that these old levels have usually been too low and that our problem now is to place them permanently where they belong in relation to other values.

Now we are ready to agree, I trust, that we have before us a politico-social question of the first magnitude. The problem is not measurable by statistics. The trouble with society is its enmities and antagonisms. For fifty years, the great antagonism has been between capital and labor. This problem still overshadows all others. We think we begin to see solutions in the legacies of the war. But there arises another antagonism, between the consumer and the producer. (Page 53.) This has grown with our urbanism and with our relative neglect of the rural civic and social problem. If the consumer and the producer develop attitudes of hostility to each other, it will involve the whole of society and split it wide open. It will raise an agrarian question of far greater

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danger than the political agrarianism of some of the other countries. The immediate task before us is to put these great questions before the consumer with fairness, sympathy, and all candor. If we are to make the most of our responsibilities here or anywhere, we must come into harmony on the question of the supply of food. This means a real cooperation in spirit and in practice between the producer and the consumer, with a determination on both sides to avoid the hateful enmities that have riven society in the name of capital and labor.

If this cooperation is to come about, it must be on another motive than the economic basis. There must be a community development between city and country: the tying agency is naturally the village and the rural town. For many years I have insisted in public speech and in writing that the corporation-lines of villages and small cities set up artificial barriers and tend to divide interests that really should be held in common. We must be careful not to make agricultural affairs a class interest, and equally must we remove the class-limitations of the village.

Several years ago I wrote, in continuation of previous efforts, that "the next step in the country-life progress is to make the country town a real part of country life. This is the other half of the country-life movement."— York State Rural Problems, II,

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146. "The development of the rural town should be as much a part of the country-life movement as the development of the farms themselves. . . . The rural village must have a turnabout: it must face conscientiously and hopefully outward to the surrounding country rather than inward to the big city. It must be a part of American country life rather than a part of American city life."

It is indeed desirable to check the urbanization of the village. So is it desirable that the city itself make a real effort to understand its rural background, at the same time that the country endeavors to inform itself on the social and civic motives of the city. Specially is the pleasant temper of benevolent urbanism to be outgrown (York State Rural Problems, II, 133). The old schism is between the land-worker and the others: may we not shatter this ancient trammel with the rest?

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7. Permanent Agriculture and Democracy

The phrase "permanent agriculture" is a real contribution to the discussion of rural affairs in recent time, expressing the idea that we must be able to maintain ourselves on the planet at the same time that the earth retains its producing-power for all coming generations, without the necessity of borrowing fertility from the ends of the earth. This phrase is important both because it demands the facts and also because it sets ideals for the future. It is the highest expression of being our brother's keeper — the brother who is yet to come. It suggests the most perfect altruism, and the truest socialism. Sometime this will be the greatest concern of government,— in the time when the concern of government coincides with the primary concerns of mankind.

The reader must not confuse this vast subject with the economic problem of making farming to yield sufficient returns for the maintenance of the business, although this smaller question is sometimes spoken of as permanent agriculture.

It has been said that permanent agriculture has been developed in the Far East. China is a people

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still in its agricultural phase, and as eighty-five per cent of the population is said to be engaged in farming, the public polity must be largely a reflection of the rural situation. It may profit us, therefore, to look briefly at the situation in China, in its bearing on our general discussion.

It is difficult for an occidental to judge any situation in the Orient. He must approach the subject largely from the objective point of view, yet remember that the oriental may live in a subjective civilization. I have attempted no study of the agriculture of China, and certainly I have no advice to give that people: I was impressed with certain rural and social situations in the large.

I went to China with the expectation to find at last an exhibition of permanent agriculture. Here is settled the problem, apparently, of maintaining the fertility of the earth. Here also is said to have been solved the problem of the greatest possible yields, of the best disposition of human waste, of the closest utilization of the land, the best conservation, the elimination of the unnecessary accessories of life, the densest rural population, and something like final rural individualism.

China is a land of unnumbered people, of vast resources, of stimulating history, stagnant in the occidental commercial sense, still under its own sovereignty, trying to adapt itself to the current ways of

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the world, a racial complex of marvelous vitality and endurance — probably the greatest human problem on the planet. Its agricultural or rural status is the undermost fact in this problem.

At the same time, China is a land in which great numbers of people live constantly on the verge between sustenance and want, in which poverty rather than middle-class comfort-earning determines much of the life and civilization, in which the scale of living is reduced to the lowest terms for the mass of the people, in parts of which human beings may be worth less economically than beasts of burden, in which government does not reach the social and economic needs of the population, and in which the people on the land are uneducated and the ideals undeveloped. The mere statement of the situation is a challenge of the agricultural status of the country in the twentieth century, when expressed in terms of human beings.

My first impression was of waste land, and this impression grew constantly in spite of the dissuasion of friends. The smaller the divisions of land, the greater is the wastage of the partitions. In the best-tilled parts of the coastal plain, possibly ten per cent of the land sometimes is wasted by mere embankments and division lines. Much of the land also is taken by the grave mounds, and the unoccupied land about them may be left in such small and irregular

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areas as to be utilized with difficulty. In the interior are vast shaven hills and mountains, swamps and flats due to uncontrolled streams and lakes, semi-deserts under no kind of effective control. One is impressed with the barrenness of the country, although the fields themselves when cropped may yield well or may not. One is impressed everywhere with the merciless skinning of the land to get every last fragment of fiber and root for fuel. I had never seen such sacrilege of the earth.

Much has been said about the use and conservation of resources in China, whereby the last fragment is saved; but this is in the nature of private scavengering and is not public conservation of natural resources. In fact, it is quite the opposite, for it looks only to the present need and does not consider the future. It is more likely to be a vast practice of waste, looked at in the national and social sense, however well it may meet the penury of the present. It has no large result in it, no state policy, no bountiful provision for the future. It is true that definite public plans of conservation are now under way, as in forestry, and in some places they are beginning to work out excellent results; but these are modern and recent adaptations or movements and not the result of the historical experience of China.

The first duty of agriculture is to produce supplies,

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and to maintain the fertility of the earth while producing them; and yet the measure of agriculture is not the yield, nor is it the maintenance of the greatest number of people on a given area of the earth's surface. Nevertheless, it is just this assumption on the part of both agricultural publicists and economists — that the test of agricultural excellence is that it sustain the greatest possible number of people — which is the underlying fallacy in present discussions. The greatest yield of agriculture is the human result, not the maintenance of given numbers.

In his sympathetic book, "Farmers of Forty Centuries," King writes that he was "amazed at the amount of efficient human labor cheerfully given for a daily wage of five cents and food, or fifteen cents United States currency, without food." My reader can imagine the slaving labor that is required, the long hours of mere grinding physical toil, the slender margin of profit, the skin-and-bone existence for the mass of the folk on land, when people by millions give themselves for five cents a day and food. It does not matter what may have been the classification of the ranks of society by Confucius, placing the farmer only second in the scale of four, unless such classification works itself out in practice with those who actually handle the land. On a basis of five cents a day and food, there can be no satisfactory agriculture.

We are not to overlook or to deny, of course, the

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many highly developed manual agricultural practices of the Chinese and their neighbors. The Occident undoubtedly has much to learn from these patient toilers who for tens of centuries have produced supplies for such crowding millions and have still maintained the producing-power of the earth. Their patience, persistence, and elimination of all frills and unessentials, the heavy yields in many places, the painstaking care to the smallest detail, all inspire one's admiration; it is time that these people receive larger recognition before society; yet we are now projecting the larger results in human progress, as these results issue from the tilling of the land.

Perhaps their painstaking is most apparent in the saving of human waste and the application of it to the land; but one cannot think this method will be the final practice in any highly developed society. We are not to solve the excrement problem on the scavenger basis, applying the raw material to the land, particularly now that we know its relation to carriers of disease. Such practice will not appeal to western peoples. If such waste is to be used for the land, it will be on the principle employed in the manufacture of commercial fertilizers or other treated and modified products, and not on the principle of the stable. Probably nowhere has the problem of the disposition of human waste been settled.

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Our present sewerage systems possibly are only temporary or transitory, when considered against the progress of civilization. Yet the oriental method cannot be accepted as even an approximate solution of the problem. Nor is it yet proved that human waste is capable of producing the best yields.

For the most part, the areas under cultivation in China are too small to allow a man to express himself on them. They make him a slave to mere hand labor, and doom him to a condition that has in it little hope of personal advancement. The problem China has to face in this respect, is to produce the same or at least sufficient supplies with fewer men, with men of more power, more capital and turnover in the business, more science and invention at their command, more mastery of the business, more economic and social freedom, more outlook to things to come.

The acreage to the person in China cannot yet be accurately stated. King says (in the second edition) that there are "scarcely more than two acres per capita, more than one half of which is uncultivable mountain land." Yet one is impressed, in parts of the interior, with the great extent of land awaiting reclamation or at least better utilization, with the bare hills, and also with what seem to be inadequate yields. Famine is an expectation in some of the

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agricultural regions. For every famine in any country, indictment should be brought against government.

A good part of the population in such countries as China eventually will be utilized in the industries: the countries will pass out of their rural phase. Whether the remaining rural population can secure sufficient additional production to the person, by means of machinery and more masterful handling of resources, to sustain the entire population can be little more than speculation at this epoch. It is probable that great fertile areas of the earth will remain relatively sparsely settled and will supply the congested parts. One day we shall farm the seas. Perhaps synthetic chemistry will contribute something to the solution of the problem. Yet whatever the final solution, we must assume that the surface of the earth and its yields must always have significance, and that a certain large part of the race must exercise the arts of keepership.

Probably we make a mistake when we assume that the present rate of increase in population is to continue on the earth. But if population is to increase to such an extent that all the people are to be reduced to existence-rations, all one can say is that the farmer should not be so reduced sooner than others. Certainly the man on whom the maintenance of the race

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depends should not also bear the burdens and the penalties of the race.

How to secure to the farmer in China or elsewhere the proper acreage so that he can afford to educate himself for his business is a very complex problem. It cannot be accomplished in a country like China without pulling up the very roots of society and the civic order. It must be a process of adjustment and growth that works itself out slowly. Whenever one touches agriculture, one touches the foundations of society.

Education in agriculture means larger and better holdings. There are persons enough who would vote public funds for the farmer if he be kept in his proper sphere and not disturb the established order of things; yet the introduction of even practical agriculture into the schools means that the farmer is not to remain where he is, and that the present subdivisions of the earth are not likely to be adequate to men with more vision and more personal power.

We come now to see that the agriculture of China has direct relation to the constitution of the civic order in China. Agriculture has such relation in any country, but the relationship is particularly marked in China, where the constitution of the body politic is yet evidently rural, or at least not industrial, and

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where, also, the element of time has worked out certain results.

The measure of agriculture anywhere is the sufficiency of it as a source of supplies, together with the satisfactions and opportunities for comfortable living and advancement it offers those who engage in it. Considered from this angle, the agriculture of China is not satisfactory and therefore is not successful: most agriculture, considering the world as a whole, is neither satisfactory nor successful.

By these remarks I do not imply that every man shall be a farmer, or that in the future state of society every man shall raise his own sustenance. This socialistic notion belongs to the idyls of poetry. But a man shall not be bound and chained to an hereditary piece of land. King states that in China one sixth of an acre of good land is ample for the maintenance of one person. No man should be sentenced to one sixth of an acre of land.

These statements have come out of reflections on the situation in China. We are told that China has a permanent agriculture: I think this is the most serious difficulty with China.

If the agriculture of China is permanent, then there is no outlook for the Chinese people except that they shall remain what they are. The same remark can be made for other peoples. If this type of

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permanent agriculture is to be the final practice of mankind, then there is no prospect of advancement and progress for the race as a whole, and no real democracy.

We must distinguish sharply between permanent agriculture and stationary agriculture.

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8. The Reformation

In all the plans and prophecies for the reconstruction of society, I see nothing that places the agricultural situation in its proper proportion. Agricultural affairs must play a prominent part in international relations. We are sending abroad commissions and agencies to review situations, but little, so far as the public is aware, to study agriculture in its international aspects. Who goes abroad or who comes to this country to speak to the nations for the interests of the farming people in the rebuilding of society? It will be inexcusable if, when we try to bring the peoples together again, we shall not consult the opinion of those who till the earth and produce the supplies for the support of all of us.

The War has forced recognition of the internationalism of the food problem, and the farm also produces materials for clothing and the arts that are needed by all the peoples on the globe.

The contentment and welfare of mankind depend primarily on the food supply. There is no democracy on an empty stomach.

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Not yet has mankind learned how to stimulate food-production in a way to satisfy the needs, to safeguard the producers, and to defend the earth for coming generations. There is every probability that the War will end too soon to test the emergency measures of food-stimulation. To feed the hungry world will require the highest ingenuity. To make statesman-like plans for the long future now becomes a pressing obligation.

Certainly we shall need a body of experts, raised for the purpose and acting under national authorities, to study agriculture in terms of reconstitution.

It must be a real study by qualified persons, not a survey or a collecting of opinions, not a report of a travelling commission.

In spite of all our education in agriculture and our fondness for quoting the crop figures in the world's finances and the departures we have fostered here and there, we are apparently not in sight of comprehensive cohesive agricultural policies. We are yet in the epoch of doing pieces of work, not having arrived at the formulation of a society conditioned on the earth. Probably nowhere in the world is society sufficiently utilizing the leadership that has been developed within a generation, often at great public expense.

Speaking for the United States, it should be said that these pieces of work, under the auspices or stim-

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ulus of government in nation and State, are of astonishing range and variety and are excellent in execution. I trust this fact does not obscure the importance of constructive policies of readjustment.

Very much of the needed re-formation in agriculture and rural life is not a problem of legislation, so much as of influences and motives set afoot by those who see and who are qualified in leadership.

Probably too much attention is given, relatively, to the political problems of reconstruction. After settlements have been made with Poland, Belgium, Servia and the others, the social and economic questions will remain, many of which are international in scope. If only the political problems are settled or commuted, it is to be feared that much of the work will have to be done over again.

Agriculture is naturally undemonstrative. It does not act as a unit. In the meantime, capital and labor are vocal. Many interests are planning definitely for reconstruction. The boldest pronouncement yet made on the reconstitution of society is the Report on Reconstruction by the Sub-Committee of the British Labor Party, proposed for consideration by the Party. It is a clear, definite program. It is ambitious, striking at fundamental considerations, and holding no reverence for traditions. Because of its definiteness it will make headway.

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Yet this great program, although mentioning the land and the farmer incidentally, virtually ignores the agricultural range as a concept in the social order. Even though it includes "all workers by hand or brain," yet it practically excludes many of them by holding to the panacea of labor organization and control. This self-sufficiency seems to be characteristic of the attitude of the group we know as "labor." It assumes that it speaks for society, and that it holds the magic of democracy. It is proposed to "build society anew"; and "what the Labor party intends to satisfy itself about is that each brick that it helps to lay shall go to erect the structure that it intends, and no other." This sounds like intolerance and dominion, and is anti-democratic in its expression. The tenor of the report is to assume the right-of-way for trade-unionism, even as against government.

What we speak of as "labor" is a minor element in society as compared with the farm element. Probably even in Europe it does not represent more than fifteen percent of the population, as against perhaps 50 or more per cent of the agriculturally rural population. Probably 65 to 75 per cent of the world's population is yet broadly rural and agricultural. The major part of the population can never be industrialized. These rural people are neither industrial workers nor capitalists; or, rather, they are a combination of the two. They constitute a great buffer

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range of the people not yet set over as antagonists against other ranges. They lie outside the usual classifications of "workingmen" and "brain-workers" and do not come within the vision of the Sub-Committee's report when it declares that "the policy of the Labor Party in this matter is to make the utmost use of the trade unions, and, equally for the brain-workers, of the various professional associations."

It is not my purpose now to analyze this great program. I am in sympathy with much of it and with the evident needs of the working-man. I admire its statement of the case. We must largely accept its underlying philosophy that social and economic values belong to society; we foresee a vast enlargement of its desire for a share rather than for wages. I wish only to use the pronouncement as illustration of the ease with which we overlook the rural side of society in our great plans of social reconstruction. This reconstruction must not rest alone on the demands of the workshop, nor on "employment," nor on wage scales, nor on profit-sharing. The attitude of "labor" toward the day's work can never be that of the farmer. There are wider ranges of the population in which unemployment is not a major problem. Nor am I convinced that its "democratic control of industry" would be much more than its control in the interests of labor and urbanism.

There is no democracy if the rural side is vassal to

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an urban or industrial proletariat, unless, indeed, the rural side is practically non-existent in any country, and in that event the effect would be felt by other countries in which there is a marked rural population: the world has a rural population. Industrial reconstruction is not sufficient.

Nor, again, does the "common ownership of the nation's land" provide a solid foundation. The production from the earth does not rest on the same natural necessities as does the manufacture of commodities in the workshop. The ownership of land provides the program that in the industries is supplied by the organization. We shall find the peasants of Russia dissatisfied after a time with any plan of public ownership of all farm land; the farmer naturally desires to own his farm. Such private ownership does not carry the menace to society that may be carried by organized or corporate industries.

It is not the so-called socialism of the present organized labor movement that I fear or doubt, but there are great civic and social needs that it leaves out of account. The food and clothing problem for mankind is involved in this question. All the fancy plans of social justice and recognition of this interest and of that, are as nothing compared with the necessity of maintaining the producing-power of the planet.

In this writing I cannot undertake a consideration

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of the processes of readjustment. I shall have accomplished my purpose if I am able to place the subject before the reader somewhat in its proportions. A democracy does not grow up by accident, nor does it take shape without serious consideration by every element of the population. Democracies are made on the farms as well as in the workshops, the counting-rooms, the schools, and the studios.

Many of my friends are concerned to have plans formulated for the international reconstruction of agriculture after the War. I do not see how we can make programs until we have the facts. What must be the policies in respect to these great questions is not given to any man to foresee. Agriculture is bound up with the other occupational and politico-social questions. Let us hope it will not be the policy of the nations to make themselves self-supporting in their industries in order that they may sustain themselves in time of war. Let this attitude apply also to agriculture, notwithstanding the advocacy of the war-sustenance course by influential authorities; then shall we relieve agriculture of the dead-weight of an artificial political development. After the war-scores are settled, we shall need the free course of trade with all the peoples, the intercourse and the interchange, the give-and-take. Agriculture should follow a natural course, so far as possible, being an adaptation to region and climate, commercial conditions and human

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resources, rather than to dynastic or even racial exigencies. Then may it become a great safeguard in democracy.

Beyond this, two things are essential: (1) Recognition by the agencies of reconstruction that the agricultural situations must be actively considered in the plans for reshaping society, independently of pressures that may be expected by organizations or class-groups. (2) The designations of the best-qualified persons, preferably outside government cabinets, to study the rural problems of reconstruction, and to present them at the international council-tables. This much at least is due the situation from the governments, not only on the merits of the case but also as an offset against the strongly fortified syndicated interests and class-pressures. The rural phase specially needs the opportunity and the protection that the cabinets can give. In the nature of the case it cannot make a consolidated demand. Even its organizations cannot represent it. The reconstruction must not proceed on the theory that every interest must look out for itself.

The demand that "practical farmers" shall sit in congresses and legislatures in given numbers is largely an expression of class consciousness. A man may be ever so competent as a farmer and yet have little view of public relations, even as they affect farming, and

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small power of convincing his fellows. There is good need that farming and the rural range be well considered; and if so considered it must be at the instance of the best-informed and most sympathetic persons, whatever their occupation. It is to be hoped that parliaments will never be constituted on the basis or occupational or professional representation.

In giving consideration to the rural relation, it must be understood unqualifiedly that farmers are not to be given favors: that is a weakening process, and farmers properly resent it. This is not the nature of the rural problem. The political and social forces must work with farmers rather than for them, on a basis of equality as man to man. The scale of intelligence is as high in the open country in North America as in the cities and towns and the industries. The attitude is likely to be dominated by the political method, which is the habit of rendering a favor in order that a favor may be returned. Good men running for office make this mistake in appealing to farmers for votes. It is a patronizing attitude, born of the custom of politics; this type of mind will never get very far with the rural question, and such persons should be excused from the reconstruction councils. The necessity is exactly the reverse,— merely to give to agriculture and rural life the full impartial sympathy and consideration that the subject demands, from its natural point of view, without regard to po-

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litical advantage or temporary expediency. With the rising influence of the farming populations, office-seekers and others desire to use this influence to their ends, thinking they are meeting the rural question: they are merely playing politics.

For each nation there are internal problems of rural readjustment. For some of them, let us hope the way will be opened for the more rapid abrogation of peasanthood. Land-settlement questions of vast importance, involving the hereditary social structure, should come to the top in many of the countries. New fiscal systems may be needed. Taxation will need consideration, and insurance against natural risks other than fire. Radical measures may be needed in education. New types of organization and cooperation are to be set on foot. The whole question of distribution of produce is to be considered from the point of view of social and civic needs. The forms of local government may require overhauling. Whatever the particular dominance in any country, the problem comes back to man's relation to the land. Probably the old order will never be so completely shattered again; it is the time to undertake fundamental changes.

We cannot overlook the growth of tenantry, for it is not an agricultural problem alone. Two aspects

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of it demand public attention,— its tendency to let down the fertility of the land, and its effect in producing castes in the population. In some countries the tenant system is a contract with the land as one party, and between tenant and renter as other parties, but in America it is not a system; yet even in those countries the social stratification remains. Tenantry is mostly of two kinds: rental from landlords, who have large holdings for the purpose; rental from owners who have become non-residents, often because the land is so fertile that the owner can live in town. In the latter case the tenant has little interest in the permanent upkeep of the land and the owner is likely to have little care for the improvement of the town. This irresponsibility is a menace to society.

So far as tenantry is a process of buying land on the part of the tenant, it is not evil and is usually to be encouraged; but most owners in productive regions do not care to sell: the farm is good enough to support both owner and tenant, and they become antagonistic economic and social forces.

The United States has its rural problems for reconstruction, even though it lacks some of the bondage of tradition and does not have a landed aristocracy or a peasantry. Man's relation to land here is nevertheless an open question. We may at once dismiss the back-to-the-land agitations that persist in

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making themselves heard, as too unimportant to demand much energy in the discussion. Much land is not well settled in the United States; it is not even properly settled for the best social or economic results. What are we to do about it?

If the hereditary holdings of other countries, in large agricultural tracts, are to be overturned, so in a smaller way are we to find use for the neglected and profitless lands in the settled parts of the United States. Vast areas are neglected because they remain in traditional private ownership, not of sufficient size or shape or position to be of real service to the people. No amount of "science" can make them to be good units, any more than the best business ability can make use of many of the shops and stores on back streets or of inadequate accommodations on good streets. The owners cling to these farms because they can do nothing else; yet in the larger sense all these lands belong to society: it is the interest of society to see that they provide the best living conditions and produce the best supplies.

I know a little valley that was once a prosperous farming region, but is now sadly unutilized. Yet the land is good, and hungry people live near by. Whether the yields have actually decreased I do not know; but the life of men everywhere has broadened, the plane of living has risen, the fair attractions of the world have appealed to the young men and women

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and they have rightly gone away. The old places fell into neglect one by one, barns and houses sagged at the corners, bushes filled the yards, the old folks passed away. Then came the real-estate movement to re-stock these farms with human beings, on the idea that if a certain eighty acres were once "a farm" it must always be a farm and a family must live on it. Foreigners were colonized. By hard labor and a lower scale of living and more workers in the family, they succeeded for a time, and some of them are still there. But the problem is impossible in the twentieth century. The State put a stone road through the valley. It affords a beautiful ride. Passers admire the hills. But they do not see the human tragedy,— human beings of good stock and all the essential virtues set apart on traditional holdings that no family ought to occupy. Often I stop at the head of the valley, and try to make for myself a magic. If only the place were new again and in forest, how simple it would be to lay it out in farms in such a way that farming would be worth the while! And then I ask why the State should not buy these farms, allowing the owners to go, and begin the process all over again and adjust it to modern conditions. (Unprofitable lands are readily purchasable). I sometimes think that I would like to close every house after the people have moved out, and every schoolhouse and church, that I might have a free

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hand. Then I would make good big farms, with due proportion of hill and valley, every one with access to an improved road and a proper market outlet. Perhaps the remoter hills should always remain public property for forest, in sufficient extent to warrant expert supervision, expecting that in time they would return a good revenue for public improvements. The State would sell the farms for what they are worth to real farmers or to persons well qualified (not back-to-the-landers) and amortize the payments for land and improvements. And the people on these farms should be allowed to make their own community institutions. All this is only a process of brushing away the old order, with the cobwebby traditions, and discovering the lands again. It is not a reclamation project. Neither is it a homesteading or housing or government-ownership problem.

But this dream means the passing of real-estate dicker. The State must be the dealer. Private capital and philanthropists should not be allowed to handle such enterprises. We cannot safely leave it even in the hands of owners. Vast areas in the United States need to be rediscovered. We must stop our practice of farming effectively only the easy spots.

It will be seen that we have here a much larger question than the settlement of land. It is not a

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process of colonization. The settlement and colonization are processes of taking up new and marginal lands and of providing opportunities for given classes of persons in times of reconstruction. All these operations are more or less temporary and transitory. What I am here trying to vision is a permanent attitude of society to the land, so that land-occupancy may be sufficiently mobile to meet the continuing moving needs of mankind.

Our only salvation lies in the philosophy of the holy earth (to which I hopefully refer the reader), which man is under obligation to dress and to keep. In the long run, a man must be allowed to own farm land only as long as he can keep it fertile, support a proper kind of life, and contribute to the welfare of his fellows. The holding of farm land for speculation should be prevented. "The increasing competition will make it ever more difficult for the careless man to make a good living by farming, and he will be driven from the business; or if he is not driven out, society will take away his privilege."—The Holy Earth, p. 53. "It would be well if some of the farms could be dispossessed of their owners, so that areas might be recombined on a better basis."—p. 60. It is time we paused to consider whether owners should not be bought out by the State, and the land resold to active farmers, when they no longer feel the responsibility either to the land or to society.

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We must find a way to change the property-interest in agriculture that it may adapt itself to the needs of humanity century by century. We cannot expect to have a twentieth-century society on an eighteenth-century basis of land-division. All other occupations change their property-interests to meet new conditions. The cities are constantly shifting within themselves, the residence and business districts moving sometimes rapidly, good strong buildings being torn down that better-adapted ones may take their places. In some countries, farm properties have become so small through successive subdivisions that they cannot sustain the best society; in other countries, great hereditary holdings retard democratization; and in any country the traditional parcelling may constitute a perpetuating hindrance. The land itself is permanent; society should so think of it: but the way in which it is divided and assessed to particular owners is not necessarily a fixed quantity.

I suspect we shall always need pioneering in agriculture, no matter how old the country. We must reclaim the wastes as they are needed and extend the borders of cultivation; but the first responsibility is to utilize that which we have already taken.

Some persons would settle the soldiers on the land. This is a question of arrangement to meet an emergency, and is properly not a problem of reconstruc-

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tion. Many persons look for a great movement from the armies to farming. Probably they are thinking of the results after the Civil War, when we induced men to become land-owners by giving them a farm. I see no reason to expect non-farmer soldiers to go permanently to the land in great numbers. The training of war is largely mechanical. The industrial pursuits will probably offer easier results. But very many of the farmer soldiers will return, and probably a fair proportion of others. They will be free men, ready to knock down old traditions. These are the men to whom we are to look to carry out the new ideas. We do not want reclamation of new lands on the frontiers to offer to soldiers under attractive conditions. Too many of the cases would be failures; and, moreover, this is not our problem. The problem is not to pension soldiers with farms, nor to colonize one locality, but to vivify and re-align our farming wherever necessary.

Perhaps some of the soldier labor can be turned to the better working of the established farms. There is need enough to improve our agriculture rather than to extend it. Yet I am now minded to discuss a fundamental problem of reconstruction involving ownership.

Part of the problem for the returned farmer-soldier is to provide him with the loan of capital under such terms as will allow him to purchase and

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equip a farm wherever he can find one to his mind. He may need to be carried until established or the crops are made. The ways are in sight for this, and the problem is one of the usual setting-up in business rather than the colonizing of lands. Probably we should make special adaptations of the Federal Land Bank system for demobilized soldiers.

It is a dangerous business to colonize people on the land, particularly when private profits are to be made out of the management. Dissatisfied colonists are a source of contagion to rural life. Their lot often becomes hard and hopeless. The case is still worse if the colonizing program imposes on the settlers a ready-made social-center-community-welfare establishment with overhead supervision, which may not meet their wishes and which must be added to the costs of farming. It is easy to devise these ideal establishments, with every good intention, as it is easy to make other projects in swivel chairs and to manifold them on the typewriter; but it is neither good practice nor good democracy.

The temptation is strong to begin community enterprises at the top rather than at the bottom. Most of the ready-made systems for rural communities are of this order, particularly those projected on a stock-holding expert-management basis. Usually they aim to import city entertainment features for the relief

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of country folk. Office people are specially given to such schemes. I like to advise the person who would project a pattern rural community to work one year continuously on a good farm by way of preparation.

Any betterment of rural agricultural communities must begin with farming and the needs of the farming people. The abiding satisfactions of country life are to come mostly out of the rural situation itself, through a process of education. Satisfaction is not put up in bottles. It is not a process of imitation. The satisfactions that are part of the situation and the man will remain long after the fly-by-night entertainments of the cities and towns are dead and forgotten. Much of the current entertainment is designed as a substitute for a man's thinking. Yet the crochet that the deficiencies of country life may be supplied by movies, skating-rinks, and illuminations seems to have nine times nine lives. The swimming-hole in the creek or pond appeals to the boy because nobody made it or bosses it. The rural community needs virile manly and womanly sports and pastimes worthy of the nature setting: I hope it will avoid cheap imitations of urban shows.

And if the rural reconstruction must begin with farming, so must it find its start with the farmer. No reconstruction of rural affairs is worth the effort unless it is democratic, and we have found that de-

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mocracy is not handed out on a piece of paper. In all worth-while community-building, men and women must function as individuals before they function as communities.

Much do I fear that the release of some of the great welfare associations of war-time will deflect them into the rural field. It is difficult for a successful organization to disband itself and to separate itself into its parts; nor is it easy to offer itself as a cooperating factor in another enterprise. The war-time movements have great power, the control of unusual forces, vast funds; they accomplish their results quickly. Diverted into other fields, they would naturally apply the same principles of operation. If they were to enter the rural range, they would want action rather than gradually to develop a spirit and philosophy in the people. The enterprises might be largely the projects of a cabinet, with a schematic overhead and a regimented organization.

May we not ask that the farming people be allowed to work out their salvation? Or if not that, may we not hope that movements in their behalf shall be actually democratic?

An underlying fault in our social economy is the assumption that land-ownership is permanent (page 151). We foresee the time when we cannot longer di-

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vide the farm for the sons or move to new regions to take up virgin lands for them. In many of the old countries the division of land has already gone to absurd extremes. How are we to provide land for intending farmers two hundred years from now?

When society is sufficiently developed, the State will have a constructive land policy, to the end that fertility may be safeguarded and that the socially and economically useful persons may own it.

I have no plan for the distribution of land among the people. That would be a fatal program; better to follow our laissez-faire than to enter into a wrecking enterprise of that kind. Neither is it a suggestion for the confiscation of land. Land so completely underlies all human institutions that the vested rights in it should be handled with the greatest caution. The question should be divorced forever from political methods, and omitted from party programs. It should not be controlled by an office in the capital. Every case will be judged by itself: the problem can never be handled by wholesale or by broadside legislation. It is an evolutionary process. We are to be on our guard against perilous land-schemes after the War.

Here are questions for statesmanship of the highest order, and for the reconstruction period to consider if reconstruction is to be more than green-table agree-

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ments and is not to be hurried. I am not thinking here of peace conventions, but of fundamental re-formations.

We make plans to heal the wounds of war, to establish political institutions, to extend and safeguard commerce, to mete out justice in international relationships: shall we also plan consciously to provide ways of access to the earth?

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9. The Open Door; Being a Point of View on China

All eyes today are on China. Great events are impending in that part of the globe. The nations are shaping their policies to that end. Perhaps they are holding a superior attitude, thinking China powerless. Perhaps they hold to the policy of the open door, that all the nations may have an equal chance. What is China's chance?

The way in which the nations react to China will be a test of their democracy.

If we are to consider betterments in China, we necessarily assume that the present status of the country is markedly defective. This is naturally an assumption of occidentalism. I do not know how far the Chinese make such assumption, although I was impressed with the readiness with which they invite suggestions and the great courtesy with which they treat the recommendations of foreigners. It seems to be a prevailing opinion that China is closed and sealed to outside influence. This may be true in the sense that China has learned much in her long history and has incorporated this acquisition into her

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philosophy and institutions, but she is ready for change, and her people, so far as they have had advantages, seemed to me to be eager to take hold of many new things.

In our occidentalism, representing a civilization now expressed largely in terms of commerce, we are prone to think of China as a heathen land, lacking in the development of natural resources and in the applications of science, weak politically and in education, primitive in sanitation, stationary in agriculture, undeveloped in industry. On these questions I now make neither affirmation nor denial. Yet a few great outstanding considerations may be suggested.

Bear in mind that I here develop a point of view only. This view is personal, representing impressions. It is not my purpose now to state any sets of facts as such. Nor do I overlook the many deficiencies that are so likely to impress the visitor from the West, and which have been so often described. These defects, while inconvenient to the traveler and the business man, do not necessarily express the real capacities or potentialities of the people. China does not impress me as either decadent or worn out, but as arrested.

The history and experience of China stimulate speculation as to its future, and raise certain reflections on the status of the West. Naturally all

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such statements as here made are relative; and the queries I propound are only to challenge the westerner, not necessarily to express dissent.

First, China is generally considered to be the most permanent society or civilization of great dimensions on the globe. Yet it is not a political or patriotic society in our understanding of these words. Its cohesion is of another kind.

(Query: Is the highly developed nationality of the Occident the solution or even the best expression of human progress?)

Second, the increase of population apparently has outrun the available land and the food supply; or, to state the case otherwise, the scale of living has been forced to very low terms. There must be something in the organization of their society highly conducive to race increase; there must be a high essential morality and a governmental system that is on the whole kindly or at least not repressive.

We must be careful not to confound racial customs, particularly in their relations to the sexes, with essential morality.

Third, we must recognize that the Chinese have learned the great art of economical living. They know how to use nourishing vegetable foods to the

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greatest advantage. The Romans knew the value of pulse. Daniel refused that he and his associates should use King Nebuchadnezzar's meat and the wine he drank, but insisted on the simpler diet of the Israelites; and a test was made with the result that the king's dainties were taken from his own men and they were given pulse to eat. We think of China as a land of rice, but it is also a land of soy, and the odor of the bean curd announces one's approach to a village. With all our violent conservation, we are not yet in sight of the Chinese economy; and yet I was impressed with the fact that the Chinese live well in proportion to their incomes. They have food freely, and in surprising variety, although simple among the common folk.

We are to hope that we shall never be driven to the extreme food reductions of the mass of the Chinese people, yet we must recognize their maintenance of population in the face of such reduction; it would be well for us to make more extended studies of their dietaries.

(Query: Have the *chef* and the menu added to the virility of the western people? Most of our people do not have these aids: is there any relation here to the birth rate? Are the results of our studies of calories anything more than the elimination of materials which over-supplied persons have learned to add to their stomachs?)

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Fourth, there is limitless latent power in her population. China is often described as a country of vast potential natural resources; of this I do not know, but I was much impressed with the potentialities of her undeveloped human resources. Here is endless capacity for labor, patience in the face of great difficulties, a reserve force that some day the world may sorely need.

(Query: Do we of the West give too much weight to the development of the individual, as a separate unit, or to the group, as a social unit? Or is there an evolutionary power in numbers?)

Fifth, China has withstood the shock of invasions from without and of uprisings within. We think of the present War as the most destructive of life in the world's history; yet I have been told that the estimated loss of life in the Tai-ping rebellion and as a result of it (this rebellion ended about the time of the American Civil War) was at least thirty millions. There must be some powerful principle in the Chinese civilization, some abiding merit in the institutions, to account for these recoveries throughout the centuries. China has recovered by means of her own internal strength without the need of external help. She has not gone forth for to conquer. China has minded her own affairs: she is peculiar.

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Sixth, China is farthest removed from being a military nation. It has been the diversion of the rest of the world to laugh at her army. Yet she has these centuries to her credit. She has maintained herself. The Chinese invented gunpowder. It is said that it was used to drive away the evil spirits. If she had used it to kill her neighbors we should now class her with the Great Powers and probably would not need to send teachers to her.

China is the great example of a country at peace. She has not been tranquil within herself, for it is a mistake, as I see it, to regard China as complacent; but essentially her contact with the world has not been of the conquering-hero kind. I have been interested to see her conquest in the South Seas. A Chinese comes to a place quietly. He asks no favors, no protection of his government; he raises no flag. Presently he has a good business; he makes himself useful; soon he controls important affairs; he conquers the country, but the conquest is not in the name of China. It is a racial conquest, founded on service. The only way it can be stopped is to prohibit immigration.

China has had the presumption to put the soldier lowest in the social scale, and yet she has persisted longest; this makes her perhaps the most remarkable and the most significant country. Since China began,

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golden Greece has finished. Egypt has buried herself in her sands. Alexander the Great has come and gone. Christianity has come. Rome fell. Spain planted her language around the world. Great states have come out of the renaissance; by vast heroics they are trying to keep their heads above water. China is the Great Fact in history. It was a sensation to find that her native systems of education are innocent of Greece and Rome.

(Query: Has any continuous military method of civilization justified itself? May we hope for the continued development of a peace-loving China as the greatest safeguard in the world?)

Seventh, China has not had a continuous government. We think of the Chinese monarchies as extensively despotic, yet such is not the case except within rather narrow powers. Life may have been cheap as against the will of dynasties, yet the powers of government have lain largely in the provinces. Dynasties have been short, an average it is said of about two hundred years, and every succeeding dynasty has been of a different kind and stamp from its predecessor. It is the unwritten law that a dynasty does not write its own history. China has seen marvelous changes of governmental direction. We think she has been sleeping. Some peoples are too wakeful. They do not rest well. When they turn over

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in bed, the bed creaks, perhaps the windows rattle. When China turns over, the bed falls down, the house collapses, the foundations separate into their elements.

China has lived long enough to prove that there are more enduring things within a people than forms of government. We of the West have not yet learned this. In some parts of the West we still think that government is a copartnership with God.

Eighth, China is described as the oldest great country of widely disseminated learning. This learning may not be universally acquired, but it is nevertheless accessible. Wherever I went, I was impressed with the number of books on sale. I do not know what was in these books, but I saw them.

(Query: Is universal popular education essential to permanency of institutions?)

Ninth, China has had probably the most perfect educational system yet devised. We may not agree that the educational result has been most worth while, but it has led directly into civic office and has opened a career for talent.

In the former Chinese system, which came to an end practically with the fall of the Manchus, in very recent years, the wealthy youth even if from the city was not much favored over the poorer youth even

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if from the country. The clan or family supported the poor boy of promise for the sake of the clan: we support such a one for sweet charity, or the government extends its benevolence. There were no extensive and expensive laboratories and technical schools. The exercise was pure learning, such as should delight the heart of the purest classicist.

Modern education in the all-wise Occident is an urban enterprise. It is very expensive. Introduced into China it is likely unduly to favor the city youth.

(Query: Do our great compulsory systems of uniformity in education open a career for talent? In the old academy days, public opinion allowed one student to be treated differently from another: we still boast of the strong characters that came out of the academies.)

Tenth, China has now thrown off the alien Manchu dynasty, has washed her hands clean of it, and has set herself to the repairing of the experience of the last hundred years or so. It was in 1917 that the young Manchu prince was restored. Even in a time of internal dissension and of world disturbance, the youth was allowed in a few days to return to his pursuits. The old order is ended. China cannot live on her past. She knows it.

Eleventh, the Chinese have learned that some things

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lie beyond the inquisitiveness of man. They have accepted this fact. Confucius taught that some truths of nature are not discoverable. With all our inquiries we seem to be as far as ever from the ultimates. The Caucasian assumes that he can solve the riddle of the universe by rule and balance, by retort, by microscope and telescope. Yet the basis of any science is at first an assumption. Perhaps we shall some day conclude that the ultimate truths must be projected rather than discovered.

(Query: Have we yet learned how to use natural science? Is it to be used for power that we may accumulate to ourselves the physical and material goods of life? Are we not now at battle with this idea?)

I could much extend these interesting categories but I have given enough for my purpose, which is to suggest that China has much to teach us and that we should send our instructors in no spirit of superiority or complacency; and also that we are not to judge China by what we of the West are fond of calling "progress."

The objective civilization of the West has much to learn from the subjective experience of the East. China is indeed weak in the occidental commercial sense, and we assume that whatever is weak commercially is weak essentially. Here we make a profound

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mistake. We are even now at war with this assumption. We have been dazzled by the efficiency of Germany as a highly organized State, incorporating the methods of business into its system. The western world has prided itself on the discovery of Efficiency. We have worshipped at the feet of the God of Efficiency. Now we find that it is only a species of idolatry and we are trying to smash the idol. We begin to see that we have been worshiping the Golden Calf.

Trade is indeed good for China, as for any country, but it should be subordinate.

All this being my line of approach, the reader will understand that I have no remedies and certainly no panaceas for what we may call the deficiencies in China. The problem is China's. I cannot look on the missionary as her salvation, although I am sure he is making a vast contribution. So long as China does not interfere with the peace and prospects of other peoples, her problem is not the responsibility or even the business of any other people or country. It is not the civic responsibility of the missionaries except in so far as they may aid China toward a right solution. The reformation of China (if reformation is necessary) is not to be accomplished by the occidentalization of it, nor by the mere introduction of invention and the extension of com-

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merce. The Caucasian is not called to monitor the world.

The chief menace to China at present is not occidentalism; but I am not discussing China's difficulties so much as the Americo-European attitude to that country.

Commerce or trade is particularly disqualified for the service needed just now in China, and for the very good reason that it is not disinterested. Trade does not undertake fundamental solutions, but operates in the realm of expediencies, combinations for control, gain for those persons who happen at the moment to be transient on the earth. The operations of the Powers in China have been largely on the commercial plan. Yet, the way may have been opened for the release of China from herself.

Any foreign influence to be permanent and corrective must first of all regard the welfare of the Chinese, and very much as the best Chinese themselves measure that welfare. We have much to do to correct and to repudiate what has been done in China by the foreigner in the name of civilization. Even because a man is weak or lame is no reason why we should take his coat.

This outside influence must be sympathetic. It seems to be a common idea of the foreigner that he must carry his own institutions into China and plant

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them there rather than to develop the native institutions. This is well expressed in the architecture of the foreigners. There are many interesting lines and details of motif in Chinese architecture that can be carried over into modern construction; yet, with the exception of an occasional concession in roof lines, I saw little of the oriental in the foreign buildings, no sufficient suggestion of adaptation to the people among whom these foreigners live, nor invitation of kindly sympathy. Considering its place, some of the introduced architecture is very repulsive.

We are in great haste to "open up" China. Yet I fail to see the need for haste. It might be a vast gain to humanity if most of the remaining resources of the planet were allowed to lie until we have learned how to utilize them righteously. What matters it if China were not "developed" for one hundred or even two hundred years? I doubt whether the Chinese are yet ready for this development; and for the rest of us, why not leave some of the opportunity for riches to our sons' sons?

The ways of conquest of a country are not necessarily military or the forcible demand of concessions. The modern method is financial. The making of loans is a peaceful undertaking, and is likely to have the approval of extensive business interests. If the

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loan is made on request of the borrower, it passes as a straight commercial transaction with the responsibility on the party that receives the money. Yet, the agency that borrows may be only a faction, without real authority to represent an entire people. There are many ways of asking and making loans. The foreign commercial loan, with guaranteeing concessions, may be the greatest single menace to a country that is in trouble or uncertain of itself or that has extensive internal dissensions. It forges rings of gold about the necks of the people. The country mortgages itself, and the day of foreclosure will come. It seems to be the prevailing opinion that the solution of China's difficulties is to supply her with foreign capital with the idea of "developing its resources." It is a specious argument. I think it is a most dangerous proceeding at present, and likely to disturb international relations in time to come. It breeds the most insidious kind of dependency. In its larger issues it is not a question of the income from the investment nor even the safety of it as a business transaction. China should be put on her own resources.

The foreign or international loans are of two groups: those made by governments to governments on the basis of comity; those made by persons, corporations or syndicates on a commercial basis. The latter should carry their own insurance or risk, and

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not expect the backing of government or involve the sovereignty of the State.

Everyone asks me whether China will pull herself out of her difficulties. My greatest fear is that the Powers will not keep their hands off. She will right herself slowly. The process ought to be slow, in keeping with her history. Suppose it requires twenty-five or even fifty years to work out a government suited to the modern needs of China: what is that as against her thousands of years? It is often said that an international commission should be constituted to govern China. I think an international commission is indeed needed: its function should be to devise ways and means to let China alone.

This does not mean that the nations are to refuse their kindly offices to China, any more than a good neighbor refuses a neighbor in trouble. My reader knows the application.

There are two quickening forces for China: Education, Religion. There are no others. If these forces join hands, regeneration will come irresistibly, if we are patient and if we leave the application largely to the Chinese.

I have seen something of the missionary work. I admire it and think its results have been remarkable, yet some of it does not strike bottom. We cannot

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Christianize the Chinese or any others independently of the everyday needs of the people. This the missionaries have learned: to their evangelization they have added schools, hospitals and medical services, industrial education. The religious satisfactions are to be developed from the people, on the principle of democracy, not handed down as a benevolence. The strong medicine of evangelization must be accompanied by much economic, social, and civic sanitation.

The larger part of the population of China is agricultural. The missionary who can aid the people in their farming will have a double hold. Essentially the same need exists in every missionary country. The agricultural Christian mission must be one of the strong movements of the coming years.

The fundamental situation in China today is not its government, its social institutions, or its commercial development, but its agriculture. Those millions of people must be clothed, fed and supported, and the scale of living must certainly rise. The spirit in which all this is accomplished will determine the spirit of the people and their civilization. China needs a vivid awakening in her agriculture. I should beware of any laid-down system of improvement. I should prefer to teach. I wish that some gifted far-seeing spirit, knowing the rural background of

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the race and in touch with modern science and practice, could spend some years in China, unattached to any mission, unconnected with government, perhaps supported by an organization designed for the purpose, and that he would analyze the rural problem for the people, seeing it from the outside, and present it to them in a clear picture by tract and speech, to the end that they might plan ways tc meet the situation, rising to it as they see it.

The Chinese are a people of broad moralities, much given to ethical admonition. They are guided by proverbs and sayings. Their philosophy is very different from that of the Occident, apparently lacking the Scriptural postulate of the fall of man. "The nature of man is good," saith the Teacher, and this statement is repeated in the schoolbooks. The admonitions develop this natural goodness. Lacking the effort to recover the original state of sinlessness, the elements of contrition and repentance, as understood in the West, seem to be absent, with the theological conceptions of atonement and redemption. This attitude largely explains much of the history of China, taken in connection with its ancestorialism. China has been chained to its past, much dominated by its family histories.

The civic value of repentance and remission of sins lies in the fact that one regrets the past and desires

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a new future. It stimulates constant freedom from oneself. So the worship of a living God rather than the religious veneration of an ancestral tree looks forward and assimilates all that is new. It is the forward look, as I am impressed, that is needed in China, but I trust it may be the racial outlook of the Chinese rather than an imitation of the West.

The Open Door is the Open Mind and the Open Action.

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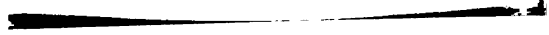

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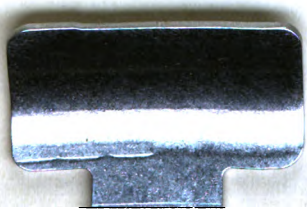

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